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Tributes to

Abraham Lincoln

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources providing testimonials lauding the 16th President of the United States

Writings of, and references to,

Herbert Hoover

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

71.2009.085.02096

WHAT DOES MR. HOOVER MEAN?

> You will find him (Lincoln) pounding at the public mind against nullification and for adherence to constitutional processes of government. No stronger statement has ever been made than that of Lincoln upon obedience to law as the very foundation of our republic.
>
> —*President Hoover, in his Lincoln's birthday address.*

That's an interesting paragraph. But it isn't definite enough.

The great civil war President's efforts led to the adoption of three constitutional amendments—the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth.

Herbert Hoover

Abraham Lincoln

Two of these, the fourteenth and fifteenth, are now completely nullified in the section they were designed to affect, the south. They have been nullified for forty or fifty years.

Is Mr. Hoover talking about these amendments? Does he propose to see to it that they shall no longer be dead letters? If so, what steps, exactly, does he intend to take? Wish he'd make his meaning clearer. Everybody could understand what Lincoln meant whenever he opened his mouth. That's more than you can say for Mr. Hoover.

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http://archive.org/details/tributestoabraha00hoov

19)

HOOVER

HOOVER QUOTES LINCOLN

Neh. 9:13. "And gavest them right judgments, and true laws, good statutes and commandments."

Addressing the annual luncheon of the Associated Press in New York, not long after assuming his presidential responsibilities, President Herbert Hoover said:

"Members and Friends of The Associated Press:

"I have accepted this occasion for a frank statement of what I consider the dominant issue before the American people. Its solution is more vital to the preservation of our institutions than any other question before us. That is the enforcement and obedience of the laws of the United States, both federal and state."

The closing words of the address were as follows:

"Is it necessary for me to argue the fact that the very essence of freedom is obedience to law; that liberty itself has but one foundation, and that is in the law.

"And in conclusion let me recall an oft-repeated word from Abraham Lincoln, whose invisible presence lives hourly at the very desk and in the very halls which it is my honor to occupy: 'Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the character of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe who prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in the schools, in seminaries, in colleges. Let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in the legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions sacrifice unceasingly upon its altar'."

(9)

The Tribute Universal

Usually the dedication of a building on a holiday passes with the news of the day, but the ceremonies attending the acceptance by the nation of the Lincoln Memorial were so exceptional that the reports of them have a unique interest. They fitted the extraordinary man who stands so far above average things in our national history.

These reports agree that the attendance was 100,000 or more, by far the greatest for a similar event in the records of American crowds. Not only was it superlative in numbers, but, as Mr. Louis Seibold in his description pointed out, probably never before in the history of the country were there ever gathered more interesting and picturesque groups to pay homage to one man. The high officials of the Government, representatives of practically all the races of the world and an overwhelming turnout of the plain people held a significance that mere words cannot measure.

It is good to know that the verdict of the press was wholly favorable to the President's speech. His most persistent and perhaps his ablest critic, the New York World, said it was probably the best speech of his career. Certainly it held and thrilled the magnificent audience, and his reference to the presence of the Old Confederates was a touch of genuine sentiment that went home to every heart.

Chief Justice Taft in his speech said: "The American people have waited fifty-seven years for a national memorial to Abraham Lincoln. Those years have faded the figures of his contemporaries and he stands alone." In keeping with the noble solitude America has erected in his honor a wonderful marble temple symbolizing its love, a greater work of its kind than was ever erected to the memory of any man. The popular interest, as shown in the dedication ceremonies, matched the enterprise. Surely tthis tall, gaunt figure towers always. Stanton was right when he said Lincoln belonged to the ages.

Hoover, President

PRESIDENT HOOVER LAUDS SERVICE OF LINCOLN FOUNDATION

In a message brought by Senator James E. Watson to the thousands at the dedication of the new Lincoln statue here today, President Hoover expressed his deep interest in the unveiling of the Manship work and lauded the aims and activities of the Lincoln Research Foundation here.

President Hoover's message follows:

"I am deeply interested to learn of the unveiling and dedication of the Paul Manship statue of 'Abraham Lincoln—the Hoosier Youth. Such a memorial of the great President is singularly appropriate in the state in which he spent so much of his boyhood, the state which contributed so greatly to develop his powers of mind and spirit at their most sensitive stage.

"And, as every fresh study of his life reveals new lessons of encouragement to a noble and fruitful use of every boy and girl's natural endowment of these powers, it is a true service to the Nation to maintain institutions which, like the Lincoln Historical Research Foundation, are dedicated to the continuous study of the great President's career.

"The ever-growing appreciation of Abraham Lincoln's character and of his immortal service, not only in preserving the Union, but in adding to its loftier ideals, is a wholesome sign of the fundamental soundness of the national character and of the people's steadfast devotion to the highest principles of life and government.

(Signed)

"HERBERT HOOVER."

Hoover, Herbert

NEWARK EVENING NEWS,

Faces Camera with a Smile

Herbert Hoover with his former secretary, Lawrence Richey, who met him on his arrival in New York yesterday. The former President came East to address the Lincoln's Day dinner of the National Republican Club at which Governor Hoffman will also speak, and to attend a meeting of the board of directors of the New York Life Insurance Co., to which he was recently elected.

Hoover Refuses Political Talk

In New York on Business, He Will, However, Attend Republican Dinner

NEW YORK (AP)—Herbert Hoover, former President of the United States, broke routine today, eschewing his customary pre-breakfast walk. He remained in his suite at the Waldorf-Astoria, had breakfast there and planned to receive several business associates.

Here for the first time since March, 1933, Mr. Hoover appeared in good health. He was smiling and affable on his arrival in New York yesterday, but refused to discuss political affairs.

Mr. Hoover emphasized this was merely a business trip. He will attend a meeting Wednesday of the board of directors of the New York Life Insurance Co. He was recently elected to the directorate.

The former President was scheduled to go to a luncheon of the directors today, and tomorrow night he will be a guest at the Lincoln dinner of the National Republican Club.

Hoover, Herbert

PERILS SEEN FOR LIBERTY

Hoover in Lincoln Address Voices Implied Criticism of Roosevelt Policies

NEW YORK, Feb. 12. (Exclusive) The faith of Abraham Lincoln was built upon freedom of the human spirit and "whatever violates, infringes or abrogates fundamental American liberty violates the life principle of America as a nation."

This was the message given tonight in a short speech by Herbert Hoover, former President of the United States, at the fifty-ninth annual Lincoln Day dinner of the National Republican Club. It was Mr. Hoover's first public address in the East since his appearance at the club's Lincoln Day dinner in 1933, a few weeks before he went out of office.

Mr. Hoover merely implied criticism of the administration of his successor. Theodore Reesevelt, president of the club, who introduced him, went further and attacked the administration of his distant cousin caustically.

Col. Roosevelt charged that the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration has flaunted the Constitution, emasculated Congress, assumed judicial powers, used emergency legislation to break down the Bill of Rights and shake the foundations of liberty and democratic government.

"The members of that administration have masked their attempts on our democratic government with false promises to the needy, with a lavish squandering of our country's resources," Col. Roosevelt said. "They are traitors to the very people whose favor they seek to gain."

Gov. Harold G. Hoffman of New Jersey, and Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin, each declared for the revivification and reorganization of the Republican party.

HOOVER'S ADDRESS

In his address to the diners, Mr. Hoover said:

"Lincoln was in himself the highest expression of American life. His individuality, his self-reliance, his courage, his patience, his tolerance and his intellectual honesty have been the living inspiration to three generations of our people. They are and should continue to be an inspiration to America in this period, as trying, if not more trying, than any that has confronted our country since Lincoln's time.

PERIOD OF DIFFICULTY

"It is indeed a period of grave difficulty for all our people. The aftermath of war, the adaptations necessary from the tidal surge of scientific discovery, the abuses which had grown in our economic system, the world-wide depression, the development of new social systems in foreign countries—all these have confused our thinking. From this travail fear has come to dominate the world. From all these dislocations there are everywhere a yearning and a striving to find individual and national security.

"Herein lies the high purpose of such meetings as this, which recall the character and principles applied and expounded by Abraham Lincoln.

LINCOLN GREAT LIBERAL

"Lincoln was a great liberal. He believed passionately that Americans should be masters of the state and not the pawns of the state. He believed a fundamental spiritual truth had been revealed to humanity in the conception of personal liberty as the basis of society. He believed it was only through this release of the human spirit that human happiness and human progress were possible. Lincoln believed that, while changes were inevitable to meet the shifting scenes and problems of the day, those changes should be in method and not in principles.

PRINCIPLES CITED

"He held the abiding spiritual truth that all individual and national security must rest upon the orderly processes of constitutional self-government. In his own words: 'A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations is the only true sovereign of a free people. "Thus his faith was builded upon the solid foundations of freedom of the human spirit which has been America's translation into government.

"This provides us for our text for today. Whatever violates, infringes or abrogates fundamental American liberty violates the life principle of America as a nation. So, I feel, Lincoln would judge and express in illuminating phrase were he with us tonight."

Hoover, Herbert

Chicago 2-13-35
Herald & Examiner

HOOVER GIVES LINCOLN PRAISE

NEW YORK, Feb. 12.—(AP)—Former President Herbert Hoover tonight eulogized Abraham Lincoln as a great liberal who "believed passionately that Americans should be the masters of the state and not the pawns of the state," and said:

"Lincoln would judge and express in illuminating phrase were he with us tonight."

Mr. Hoover, in an address at the forty-ninth Lincoln Day dinner of the National Republican Club, joined with Dr. Glenn Frank, Col. Theodore Roosevelt and other noted Republicans in paying tribute to the great emancipator.

Dr. Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin, declared America had "in essence joined the mad reversion to primitive tribalism" exemplified by the post-war nationalism in Europe.

Hoover, Herbert

HOOVER GIVES LINCOLN TALK

NEW YORK, Feb. 12.—(Universal Service.)—In a brief but stirring eulogy of Abraham Lincoln, former President Herbert Hoover tonight addressed the annual Lincoln dinner of the National Republican Club.

To prolonged applause he said he "believed passively that Americans should be the masters of the state and not the pawns of the state."

Other speakers who addressed the 750 present in the Waldorf Astoria included Gov. Harold G. Hoffman of New Jersey and Dr. Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin.

Speaking extemporaneously, the former President asserted that Lincoln was, in himself, the highest expression of the whole epic of American life,

Hoover, Herbert

HOOVER TO SPEAK TO NATION FROM LINCOLN DINNER IN NEW YORK

NEW YORK, Feb. 12.—(A.P.)—Former President Herbert Hoover will speak tonight at a Lincoln Day dinner of the National Republican Club. His speech will be broadcast over the NBC-WJZ network, at 8:45 p.m., central standard time.

Mercy Sentinel
2-12-35

Hoover, Herbert

FOLLOW LINCOLN, HOOVER TELLS U.S.

40,000 Cheer President After Brief Speech at Gettysburg.

GETTYSBURG, Pa., May 30.—Near the spot where 67 years ago Abraham Lincoln delivered his immortal Gettysburg address, President Hoover stood today and called for leadership of the nation tempered by the moderation and calm vision of the Civil War president.

"In the weaving of our destiny, the pattern may change," the chief executive said, "yet the woof and warp of our weaving must be those inspired ideals of unity, of ordered liberty, of equality of opportunity of popular government, and of peace to which this nation was dedicated.

Looking down from the covered stand where he stood over the crowd of more than 40,000 that banked upon the hillside below, the president saw before him a colorful scene flanked by military uniforms.

Behind him sat a few of the surviving veterans of the Union and Confederate armies.

Where Pickett made his famous charge, thousands of little boys and girls dropped flowers on the graves of those who fell in battle.

Accompanied by Gov. Fisher of Pennsylvania and Secretary Hurley, the chief executive exhorted "his fellow countrymen" to carry on that "spiritual solidarity" that has made this nation a "great people unparalleled in al human history."

Only at the beginning and end of his address did the chief executive call for the applause of the thousands below him.

Completing his nine-minute address, Mr. Hoover began the longer ride to the estate of Jay Cooke, Philadelphia financier, to the Allegheny Mountains north of Williamsport.

The text of Mr. Hoover's address follows, in part:

"We stand today amidst monuments to the valor and glory of a generation of Americans, north and south, now well-nigh gone. Most of those who bore the burdens of the Civil War have joined their comrades who sleep beneath these mounds. Of a thousand brigades which marched in that great conflict, scarce a score remain.

"To the dead we pay again our tribute of gratitude and devotion. To the living we extend heartfelt wishes for a continuation of peaceful years, serene in contemplation of their glorious youth. The time must come all too soon when these living ties of our generation with the historic past will have passed on.

"Every American's thought of this great battle field of Gettysburg flashes with the instant vision of the lonely figure of Lincoln, whose immortal words dominate this scene. No monument has been or can be erected here so noble and enduring as that simple address which has become a part of this place.

"Greater than the tribute of granite or bronze remains that memorable message to the American people. That appeal for the unity of our people and the perpetuation of the fundamentals of our democracy is as vital today in our national thinking as it was when Lincoln spoke.

Lincoln's Vision Confirmed.

"His words from their span of the past rang with courage and assurance for the future. Though no president has been so beset, though no time in our history has been so dark, though never have strong men been so affected with doubts, yet in the midst of all that turmoil he found strength to lift his head above the clouds and proclaim that vision which the passing years have so fully confirmed.

"Today nearly 70 years have passed since Lincoln spoke. Ours is a new day and ours new problems of the republic. There are times when these problems loom ominous and their solution difficult. Yet great as our difficulties may sometimes seem, we would be of little courage if in our concerns we had less of faith than Lincoln had in his far greater task.

"Lincoln's counsels sounded strangely when spoken in the midst of war. His was the call of moderation. Our history would be even brighter than it is if his predecessors and his contemporaries had spoken as temperately as he, if they had been moved by charity toward all, by malice toward none.

"We shall be wise to ponder here what precious wealth of human life might have been preserved, what rivers of tears might never have flowed, what anguish of souls need never have been, what spiritual division of our people might have been avoided, if only our leadership had always been tempered by the moderation and calm vision of Lincoln.

"Since his day reason has not always ruled instead of passion, knowledge has not always been sought instead of reliance upon impoverished conjecture, patience has not ever delayed the impetuous feet of reckless ambition, quiet negotiation has not always replaced the clamor of the hustings, prudent common counsel has not invariably overcome the allurements of demagogic folly, good will has not always won the day over cynicism and vain glory.

"Yet the ideals which he inspired have served to mold our national life.

In the weaving ot our destiny, the pattern may change, yet the woof and warp of our weaving must be those inspired ideals of unity, or ordered liberty, of equality of opportunity, of popular government and of peace to which this nation was dedicated.

"The weaving of freedom is and always will be a struggle of law against lawlessness, of individual liberty against domination, of unity against sectionalism, of truth and honesty against demagoguery and misleading, of peace against fear and conflict. In the forming of this pattern, the abuse of politics often muddies the stream of constructive thought and dams back the flow of well-considered action.

"In the solution of the problems of our times we have some new lamps to guide us.

The growth of communications, of education, of the press, have made possible a new unity of thought and purpose. But the light that guides our souls remains the same as that whereby our fathers were led. It is the store of knowledge, the great inspirations of men's souls, the ideals which they carry forward, that have lifted the nation to even greater heights.

It Is Spiritual Union.

"The union has become not merely a physical union of states, but rather is a spiritual union in common ideals of our people. Within it is room for every variety of opinion, everp possibility of experiment in social progress. Out of such variety comes growth, but only if we preserve and maintain our spiritual solidarity.

"The things of the spirit alone persist. It is in that field that the nation makes its lasting progress. To cherish religious faith and the tolerance of all faiths; to reflect into every aspect of public life the spirit of charity, the practice of forbearance, and the restraint of passion while reason seeks the way; to lay aside blind prejudice and follow knowledge together; to pursue diligently the common welfare and find within its boundaries our private benefit; to enlarge the borders of opportunity for all and find our own within them; to enhance the greatness of the nation and thereby find for ourselves an individual distinction; to face with courage and confident expectation the task set before us, these are the paths of true glory for this nation.

"They will lead us to a life more abounding, richer in satisfactions, more enduring in its achievements, more precious in its bequests to our children—a life not merely of conflict but filled with the joy of creative action."

Hoover, Herbert

St. Paul, Minn., Dispatch
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1930

[illegible] the customers against the wall, scooping almost $200 from the cash register and fleeing.

HOOVER GETS LINCOLN BID.

Springfield, Ill., Dec. 16—(AP)—President Hoover has been invited to rededicate the tomb of Abraham Lincoln here on Lincoln's birthday anniversary, February 12, 1931. President Hoover has acknowledged the invitation, promising a definite answer later.

Hoover, Herbert

39 N.Y. Times 2/14/39

Hoover Talks At Lincoln Fete Tonight

Affair To Point GOP To "Victory Through Unity In 1940."

Former President Herbert Hoover's Lincoln Day address will be broadcast at 8 o'clock tonight over the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company.

NEW YORK, Feb. 13.—(U.P.)—Former President Herbert Hoover will keynote national Republican observance of Lincoln Day tonight when the party's annual Lincoln dinners point a resurgent GOP toward "Victory Through Unity in 1940."

Lincoln dinners in every state will tune in on the radio broadcast of the dinner of the National Republican Club here. Party leaders, encouraged by Democratic internal dissension and by the Republican election victories in 1938, said the affair would be the most hopeful and one of the most important in many years.

Fifteen hundred persons had made reservations, at $25 a plate, for the dinner in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria to hear Mr. Hoover, National Committee Chairman John D. M. Hamilton and five Republican governors elected last Fall set Republican sails for a national victory in 1940.

Dewey Is Host.

Host and honorary chairman will be District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey, whose November defeat for the New York governorship failed to remove him as a contender for the party's presidential nomination in 1940.

The speechmaking will last from 8 to 10 p.m. (CST). The Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company will broadcast the first hour. The Mutual Broadcasting System will carry on from 9 to 10 o'clock. The Columbia Broadcasting System will carry a portion of the program from 9:30 to 10 p.m.

In the order of their introduction, the speakers during the first hour will be: Mr. Hoover, Hamilton, Mrs. William Henry Hayes, president of the Women's National Republican Club, and Gov. Ralph L. Carr, of Colorado.

The second hour speakers will be Gov. Julius P. Heil, of Wisconsin; Gov. Harlan H. Bushfield, of South Dakota; Gov. Frank D. Fitzgerald, of Michigan; Sen. Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin; Gov. Raymond E. Baldwin, of Connecticut, and the Rev. Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo, pastor of the Collegiate Reformed Church of St. Nicholas.

Many Reservations Made.

Twenty members of the National Republican Committee and more than a score of Congressmen have made reservations. Importance of the dinner was emphasized by the fact that it was the first Lincoln dinner in New York in which the national committee has participated.

Hamilton said all the speeches would sound the dinner's theme, "Victory Through Unity in 1940." His speech and Mr. Hoover's will emphasize the national standpoint.

Governor Bushfield will dwell on international questions, Governor Carr on the farm problem, and Governor Fitzgerald will discuss industrial relations.

C. Wayland Brooks, of Chicago, former Republican candidate for Governor of Illinois, will be toastmaster.

FRANK ISSUES WARNING.

Grave International Reaction To Foreign Policy Seen Likely.

PORTLAND, Ore., Feb. 13.—(U.P.)—Dr. Glenn Frank, chairman of the Republican national party program committee, warned today that America's present foreign policy might cause a serious international reaction.

"It is my personal opinion," he said, "that we are heading into very grave danger if we set ourselves up as moral judges of the internal policies of other nations unless we intend to go the whole way and back our moral judgment with a staggering display of military and economic force—which American people, in

OVER

(Continued on Page 2, Column 3)

Hoover, Herbert

LINCOLN'S GREATNESS THEME OF ADDRESS

GETTYSBURG, Pa., May 30.—(AP)—Near the spot where 67 years ago Abraham Lincoln delivered his immortal Gettysburg address, President Hoover stood Friday and called for leadership of the nation tempered by the moderation and calm vision of the Civil war president.

"In weaving of our destiny, the pattern may change," the chief executive said, "yet the woof and warp of our weaving must be those inspired ideals of unity, of ordered liberty, of equality of opportunity of popular government and of peace to which this nation was dedicated.

Looking down from the covered stand where he stood over the multitude that banked upon the hillside below, the president saw before him a colorful scene flanked by military uniforms. Behind him sat a few of the surviving veterans of the union armies gazing out upon the graves of their fellow comrades and listening to the tribute which the thirty-first president of the United States bore them and the veterans of the confederacy.

* * *

THE president, changing to an open car with Governor Fisher of Pennsylvania after his arrival in Gettysburg, paraded to the cemetery through flag lined streets crowded with a cheering holiday throng.

Surrounding the chief executive on the platform was a group of blue clad veterans of the Union armies and William Haines, aged 93, wearing the Confederate gray. He was the first Confederate soldier to sit on the platform at Gettysburg Memorial day exercises.

Mrs. M. O. Smith, 87 years old, of Hanover, Pa., who sang in the choir on the platform when Lincoln dedicated the cemetery, was back in a place of honor Friday.

Grouped about the president, also were Secretary of War Hurley; Henry P. Fletcher, former ambassador to Italy; Governor Fisher of Pennsylvania, who presided and introduced the president, and others prominent in state and national life.

* * *

ONLY as the chief executive began speaking and at the end did applause resound. As Lincoln had stood 67 years ago and in his brief address awed the crowd into silence by the beauty of his thought, so Herbert Hoover stood today and called for leadership of the nation, tempered by moderation and the calm vision of the Civil war president.

"Every American's thought of this great battlefield of Gettysburg flashes with the instant vision of the lonely figure of Lincoln, whose immortal words dominate this scene," he said. "No monument has been or can be erected here so noble and enduring as that simple address which has become a part of this place. Greater than the tribute of granite or bronze remains that memorable message to the American people. That appeal for the unity of our people and the perpetuation of the fundamentals of our democracy is as vital today in our national thinking as it was when Lincoln spoke."

PRESIDENT CALLS NATION TO GO FORWARD TO TASKS

President Hoover in Gettysburg Memorial Day Address Lavish in His Praise of Lincoln.

Standing where Lincoln pronounced the immortal words of his Gettysburg address nearly three score and 10 years ago, President Hoover called on the nation Friday to go forward to its tasks moved by "charity toward all, by malice toward none."

"His was the call of moderation," said Mr. Hoover. "We shall be wise to ponder here what precious wealth of human life might have been preserved, what rivers of tears might never have flowed, what anguish of souls might never have been, what spiritual division of our people might have been avoided, if only our leadership had always been tempered by the moderation and calm vision of Lincoln."

Delivering a Memorial Day address, the president said the passing years had brought new problems and developed new aids to progress while the union of the states had become a spiritual one, based on common ideals."

"The things of the spirit alone persist," he concluded. "It is in that field that the nation makes its lasting progress. To cherish religious faith and the tolerance of all faiths; to reflect into every aspect of public life the spirit of charity, the practice of forebearance, and the restraint of passion which reason seeks; to lay aside blind prejudice and follow knowledge altogether; to pursue diligently the common welfare and find within it boundaries our private benefit; to enlarge the borders of opportunity for all and find our own within them; to enhance the greatness of the nation and thereby find for ourselves an individual distinction; to face with courage and confident expectation the task set before us, these are the paths of true glory for this nation."

The fulltext of the address follows: We stand Friday amidst monuments to the valor and glory of a generation of Americans, north and south, now wellnigh gone. Most of those who bore the burdens of the Civil war have joined their comrades who sleep beneath these mounds. Of a thousand brigades which marched in that great conflict, scarce a score remain.

To the dead we pay again our tribute of gratitude and devotion. To the living we extend heartfelt wishes for a continuation of peaceful years, serene in contemplation of their glorious youth. The time must come all to soon when these living ties of our generation with the historic past will have passed on. Then we shall have only cherished memories to remind us of those men who heroically died and those women who bravely suffered for great ideals, or who lived on to consummate the reunion of our country, to give stability to its government and peace to its people.

"THINGS OF THE SPIRIT"

PRESIDENT HOOVER yesterday was speaking under difficult conditions. He was making an address on a subject already immortalized by Abraham Lincoln, and in the same surroundings. Theoretically the Gettysburg Address of Lincoln and the locality of the battlefield might be expected to furnish inspiration for an orator, but practically there is nothing to add to Lincoln's speech and the effect of a Presidential address on the Gettysburg platform is to invite comparisons. It is hardly fair to expect more than one Gettysburg Address.

Under these circumstances President Hoover made an excellent speech, and one that merits the thoughtful attention of the American people. He performed a useful service by placing his emphasis on the essential spiritual unity of all our people in the common ideals of government which we have made ours, and by calling upon all of us, as he put it, "to reflect into every aspect of public life the spirit of charity, the practice of forebearance and the restraint of passion while reason seeks the way."

In these days of bitter controversy over prohibition, farm relief and the tariff, with other issues not much less fiercely fought, it is a wise counsel. The field of Gettysburg is the scene of a bloody battle incidental to a conflict we could not compose except by armed strife.

Summing up the meaning of the United States, President Hoover gives this interpretation:

"The union has become not merely a physical union of States, but rather is a spiritual union in common ideals of our people. Within it is room for every variety of opinion, every possibility of experiment in social progress. Out of such variety comes growth, but only if we preserve and maintain our spiritual solidarity. The things of the spirit alone persist. It is in that field that the Nation makes its lasting progress."

These are wise words and will give us all ample material to ponder.

BOSTON MASS EVE GLOBE
MAY 31, 1930

Hurley.

2,000 Expected At Lincoln Day Dinner Monday

2/14/39

1,500 Reservations Taken; Hoover Heads Speakers at Republican Victory Fete

N.Y. Herald Tribune

More than 1,500 reservations have been made for the Lincoln Day dinner to be held under auspices of the National Republican Club at the Waldorf-Astoria on Monday to celebrate the revitalization of the party. Guests from points as far away as Colorado will attend and a total attendance of 2,000 is expected, it was said yesterday by John Jay Hopkins, chairman of the dinner committee.

The dinner was first planned as the annual Lincoln Day city dinner, but was expanded into a nationwide "Victory Through Unity" celebration, Mr. Hopkins said, as a tribute to the Republican leaders who brought about the party's gains last fall.

Thomas E. Dewey, District Attorney of New York County, is honorary chairman of the dinner. Speakers will include former President Herbert Hoover, five newly elected Republican Governors, John D. M. Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee; the Republican Congressional leaders, Senator Charles L. McNary, of Oregon, and Representative Joseph P. Martin, of Massachusetts, and Mrs. William Henry Hays, president of the National Women's Republican Club.

Four Republican national committee women have accepted invitations. They are Mrs. John Hillman, of Colorado, vice-chairman of the National Committee; Mrs. Esther H. Toland, of New Hampshire; Mrs. Katherine Kennedy Brown, of Ohio, and Mrs. Frank S. Reynolds, of Indiana.

Some of the dinner guests from outside New York have arrived in the city, among them Dr. Robert Kincaid, executive vice-president of Lincoln Memorial University, at Cumberland Gap, Tenn.

Dr. Kincaid, in an interview yesterday at the Hotel Lincoln, said that the 500 students at Lincoln, which was founded on Lincoln's birthday in 1897, were "real democrats of Lincoln's type."

"They live back in Lincoln's time," he explained. "They don't know what Communism or Fascism are. In fact, over there, we know very little of what is happening in the outside world. What we are interested in are the fundamental principles of Americanism, and they are taught in a special course at our university. The boys and girls who come there from the mountains truly receive a liberal education."

Republican Dinners For 'Victory in 1940' To End Lincoln Fetes

1,500 to Hear Hoover in New York; 3,000 Pay Tribute Here

2/13/39

By the Associated Press.

Republicans in many cities will have an eye on the 1940 presidential campaign tonight at dinners concluding a week-end observance of the 130th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth.

The largest gathering will be in New York, where 1,500 persons made reservations to hear speeches by former President Herbert Hoover, five Republican Governors, and other party leaders. National Chairman John Hamilton said the keynote of the dinners was "victory through unity in 1940."

Not all the tributes to the Civil War President, however, were of a political nature. Standing at Lincoln's tomb at Springfield, Ill., National Comdr. Stephen F. Chadwick of the American Legion said yesterday:

"The principles of Americanism preserved for us by Lincoln's statesmanship and success may some day come to be appreciated as is the life of Lincoln himself. * * *

"From respect of our example, there may yet come the day when all nations will accept our way of life, when our ideals will lose their nationality and be accepted for what we truly and reverently believe them to be—the divine ideals for man's government and conduct toward his fellow man."

3,000 Pay Tribute To Lincoln Here

More than 3,000 people gathered at the shrine of Abraham Lincoln or in churches throughout the city yesterday, as the Capital paid tribute to the Great Emancipator on the 130th anniversary of his birth.

The services at the Lincoln Memorial, sponsored for the 12th consecutive year by the District of Columbia Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, led the observance.

President Roosevelt, confined to bed with the grippe, was represented by Capt. Daniel J. Callaghan, naval aide, who placed the first wreath at the foot of the marble statue. He was followed by representatives of the District Commissioners and 47 local patriotic organizations.

After the guard of honor presented arms before the statue, Dr. Thomas E. Green, Loyal Legion chaplain, read the invocation, calling for a united people in America.

Earlier in the day, the Sons of the American Legion and the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade visited the Memorial to pay their respects to the memory of the Great Emancipator.

Legislator Speaks.

At Washington Cathedral, Bishop James E. Freeman extolled the simplicity, honesty and humility of Lincoln and declared the country needs another "Honest Abe" to save it from the dangers [illegible]

Murray Calls Lincoln Dinner Step to Victory

N.Y. Herald Tribune

Declares Event Will Mark Start of Republican March in New York and Nation

2/11/39

William S. Murray, chairman of the Republican State Committee, said yesterday that the Lincoln dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria on Monday night would mark the start of a Republican march to victory in state and nation.

"The Republicans of New York," continued Mr. Murray, "are both happy and proud to be the hosts to the victorious Republican Governors, Senators and Representatives who will assemble at the Lincoln dinner. The several hundred party leaders and loyal workers coming from all parts of the United States will be welcomed by a united party in this state headed by our brilliant young District Attorney, Thomas E. Dewey."

Mr. Dewey is honorary chairman of the dinner, which will be addressed by former President Herbert Hoover and several outstanding victors in last November's elections throughout the nation.

John D. M. Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Mr. Hoover will be heard over the air in coast-to-coast broadcasts from 9 to 10 p. m. Eastern Standard Time, on Monday night.

Arrangements will be completed today for broadcasting speeches of the five Governors and the Republican leaders of the Senate and House, Senator Charles L. McNary, of Oregon, and Representative Joseph P. Martin, of Massachusetts. The Governors who will speak include Harlan H. Bushfield, South Dakota; Ralph L. Carr, Colorado; Julius P. Heil, Wisconsin; Frank P. Fitzgerald, Michigan, and Raymond E. Baldwin, Connecticut.

Although the original arrangements had been for 1,200 guests, acceptances received up to yesterday had passed this number by nearly 300.

"The gathering of so great a number of elected officials, leaders and other party workers," said Mr. Murray, "signifies a spirit of purpose and action that will add much to the march to victory in 1940 throughout the nation.

"As the Democratic party becomes more and more disorganized under New Deal leadership, the Republicans are coming together in a spirit of unity and determination to solve the problems that confront the nation."

More than thirty Republican members of Congress who were elected last November, and more than a score of members of the Republican National Committee, were among the acceptances received to date.

Among the United States Senators who will attend are Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, and Charles W. Tobey, of New Hampshire. The Representatives include Bruce Barton and Harold Cluett, New York; Chauncey W. Reed and Jesse Sumner, of Illinois; U. S. Guyer, of Kansas; Noble J. Johnson, of Indiana; Dudley A. White, of Ohio; William [illegible]

Hoover, Herbert

Hoover Heads Speakers' List At Gotham Lincoln Dinner As G. O. P. Courts '40 Unity

(BY ASSOCIATED PRESS)

The nation commemorated the 130th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth Sunday with memorial speakers hailing his great humanitarian principles and calling for a rededication of his ideals for preservation of liberty.

The observance, centered in the East and Middle West, was the second day of a three-day week-end celebration that will be climaxed tonight with Republicans holding Lincoln Day dinners in many states.

Former President Herbert Hoover headed a distinguished list of speakers that included five Republican Governors, congressional and party leaders for the dinner tonight at the Waldorf Astoria in New York, where more than 1,500 persons had made reservations.

John D. M. Hamilton, Kansas, Republican National Chairman, with an eye to the presidential campaign a year hence, said the keynote of the party gatherings would be "Victory Through Unity in 1940."

Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, speaking in New York yesterday at a Lincoln observance, scored the racial theories of "the dictatorial regime in Germany" and asserted its "misuse of the word Aryan is pure scientific faking."

Wallace accused Germany of "masquerading its propaganda in pseudo-scientific terms" in "teaching German boys and girls to believe that their race and nation are superior" and "by implication that that nation and race have a right to dominate all others."

Wallace's address was at a meeting sponsored by the Lincoln Birthday Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, one of 28 being held throughout the country by scientists seeking "cooperation of the public and science to defend scientific freedom and political democracy."

The Cooper Union, where Lincoln delivered a famous addres February 27, 1860, arranged a re

Continued On Page 2, Column 1.

Hoover and GOP Honor Lincoln

International News Service

NEW YORK, Feb. 13.—Republican leaders from all sections of the nation were gathering in New York today for the annual Lincoln Day dinner of the National Republican Club at the Waldorf Astoria tonight.

Former President Herbert Hoover and National Chairman John D. M. Hamilton head the list of speakers who will orate on the topic: "Victory Through Unity in 1940."

Other speakers are: Mrs. William Henry Hayes, president of the Women's National Republican Club; Gov. Ralph L. Carr, of Colorado; Gov. Julius P. Heil, of Wisconsin; Gov. Harlan H. Bushfield, of South Dakota; Gov. Frank D. Fitzgerald, of Michigan; Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin; Gov. Raymond E. Baldwin, of Connecticut, and the Rev. Dr. Joseph Sizoo, of the Collegiate Reformed Church of St. Nicholas.

PAGE ONE.

Hoover Is Speaker At Lincoln Dinner

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE.

enactment last night in New York of the scene with Raymond Massey, famous actor now playing in the Broadway stage production, "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," reading an abridged version of the speech from the platform where Lincoln stood.

In Lincoln City, Ind., reverent Hoosiers conducted a simple memorial service and placed wreaths on the lonely hilltop grave, where lies buried Nancy Hanks Lincoln, mother of the Civil War President.

Wreaths were laid on the tomb of Lincoln in Springfield, Ill., and elsewhere where monuments have been erected to his memory. Memorial services were conducted in churches. Banks, post offices, the stock exchanges, and other public institutions will remain closed today, the legal holiday.

COFFIN BILL PAID

Springfield, Ill., February 12—(AP)—Leon P. Hopkins, 87 years old, had a $22.76 check today in payment for soldering and cutting work on Abraham Lincoln's coffin 52 years ago.

On April 14, 1887, Hopkins opened a small section of Lincoln's casket so the body could be identified to squelch rumors it had been stolen. He was promised $3 for the work, but never turned in a bill.

Yesterday Attorney Francis Garvey of Chicago gave Hopkins a check to cover the original bill plus interest.

Payment was made on behalf of Major Felix J. Streyckmans, last survivor of an official committee which viewed Lincoln's face in 1887 and again in 1901 when the body was laid to rest under the great monument in Oak Ridge Cemetery.

Colonel Andrew Humphreys, 89, who originated the idea of Lincoln dinners 52 years ago with a gathering of Republicans in New York, an event now a tradition with the party nationally, will be a guest at th New York dinner tonight.

Speakers on the program there besides former President Hoover included: Governors Ralph L. Carr, Colorado; Raymond E. Baldwin, Connecticut; Frank D. Fitzgerald, Michigan; Julius P. Heil, Wisconsin, and Harlan Bushfield, South Dakota. All were elected last fall. Senator Alexander Wiley, Republican, Wisconsin, and Chairman Hamilton also will speak.

Springfield, Ill., February 12—(AP)—Stephen F. Chadwick, National Commander of the American Legion, stood at Abraham Lincoln's tomb today and voiced the hope that all nations might some day accept his "divine ideals for government."

Describing Lincoln as "one of those giant figures who lose their nationality in death * * * and belong to mankind," Chadwick spoke at services commemorating the 130th anniversary of the Civil War President's birth.

Before the service at the tomb, in the Oak Ridge Cemetery, veterans' organizations and their auxiliaries, national guard units, state police and civil organizations paraded from downtown Springfield two miles to the cemetery.

Paraders and several hundred others stood outside of the massive granite crypt as ceremonies within were relayed to them by loud speaker.

Brigadier General W. E. Prosser of the Sixth Corps Area, Chicago, placed a wreath before the cenotaph in behalf of President Roosevelt.

At Mount Pulaski, Ill., others formally opened a new memorial to Lincoln, the old courthouse were he argued law when a circuit rider.

"AMERICAN NO LONGER.

Chadwick, whose address was broadcast (CBS) said:

"He is an American no longer. He is one of those giant figures of whom there are very few in history who lose their nationality in death. They are no longer Greek or Hebrew, English or American; they belong to mankind.

"The principles of Americanism preserved for us by Lincoln's statesmanship and success may some day come to be appreciated as is the life of Lincoln himself.

"Our principles and ideals are not principles for Americans alone. They are by us believed to be the divine rights of all men. While some nations and peoples refuse to accept them, we must be vigilant to protect and preserve them for ourselves in this union of free states.

"From respect for our example, there may yet come the day when all nations will accept our way of life, when our ideals will lose their nationality and be accepted for what we truly and reverently believe them to be—the divine ideals for man's government and conduct toward his fellow man."

Participating in the broadcast was Raymond Massey, who currently portrays Lincoln in a current broadway play. Massey in New York read Lincoln's "farewell to Springfield."

Other speakers included Mrs. T. K. Rinaker, Carlinville, Ill., National Vice President of the American Legion Auxiliary, and John Stelle, Acting Governor of Illinois

Hoover, Herbert

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

Text of Hoover's Lincoln Tomb

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., June 17.—The text of President Hoover's address at Lincoln's tomb today was as follows:

The people of Illinois have taken just pride in the restoration and beautification of the tomb of their greatest citizen—Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States. This memorial was erected and dedicated fifty-seven years ago. Another great citizen of Illinois—the eighteenth President of the United States, Ulysses S. Grant—made the address on that occasion. It is proper that a President of the United States should take part in its rededication at this time.

This, the tomb of Lincoln, is a shrine to all Americans. The stone and marble of all of our great national shrines are more than physical reminders of the mighty past of our country. They are symbols of things of the spirit. Through the men and deeds they commemorate they renew our national ideals and our aspirations.

It is a refreshment of the national soul to assemble in these places and to direct the thoughts of our people to these occasions and to recall the men and their deeds which builded the Republic. It is an awakening of pride in the glories of the past and in inspiration to faith in the future. These are the springs which replenish that most sacred stream of human emotions—patriotism.

Nothing that we may say here can add to the knowledge or devotion of our people to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. Nothing we may do can add to his stature in history. All that words can convey has long since been uttered by his grateful countrymen.

We gather here today that we of our generation may again pay tribute to the man who not only saved the Union and gave freedom to a race but who re-created the ideals and inspirations of American life.

A nation in its whole lifetime flowers with but a few whose names remain upon the roll of the world in after generations. Lincoln after all these years still grows, not only in the hearts of his countrymen but in the hearts of the peoples of the world.

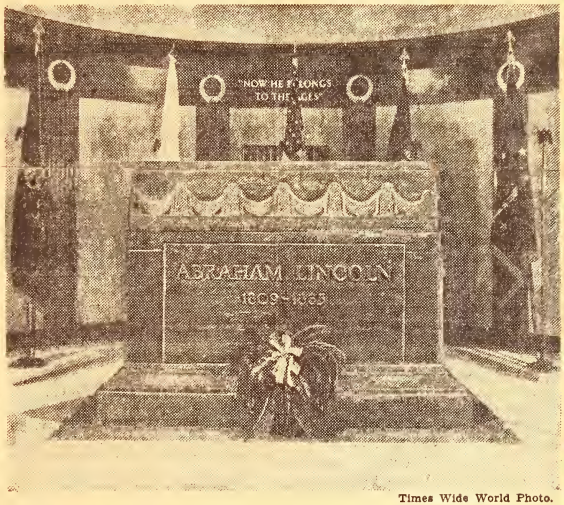
A Man Before a Symbol.

It is not new, yet it is eternally true, to state that Lincoln made a universal appeal to the minds and hearts of men. His every aspiration was for the unity and welfare of his country. He became a triumphant force in achieving that ideal, because he saw the problems of his time not only from the standpoint of the statesman but of the average citizen, whose outlook he understood and whose trials and hopes he shared.

No man gazes upon the tomb of Lincoln without reflection upon his transcendent qualities of patience, fortitude and steadfastness. The very greatness which history and popular imagination have stamped upon him sometimes obscures somewhat the real man back of the symbol which he has become. It is not amiss to reflect that he was a man before becoming a symbol. To appreciate the real meaning of his life we need to contemplate him as the product of the people themselves, as the farm boy, the fence builder, the soldier, the country lawyer, the political candidate, the legislator, and the President, as well as the symbol of union and of human rights.

It is fitting that we should rededicate his hallowed resting place, that we should thus recall to every American mind and heart the contribution which Lincoln made to the greatness of our nation. But it was Lincoln himself whose insight and splendid expression illuminated the true purpose of our assembly at national shrines. It was he who

REBUILT TOMB OF THE EMANCIPATOR.



Times Wide World Photo.

Sarcophagus of Abraham Lincoln in the reconstructed Lincoln monument in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Ill., which was rededicated yesterday by President Hoover.

Address

at Gettysburg called upon the people not so much to mourn the dead as to honor them by a rededication of themselves to the service of their country. He said in that memorable address:

"It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here * * * to the great task remaining before us." That should be our purpose and resolve today.

No Man Stands Above the Law.

The six decades which have passed since Lincoln's death have written on the scroll of history changes bewildering in their variety, momentous in their consequences. They have broadened and enriched life beyond the imaginations of Lincoln's contemporaries. The years have not only yielded rich treasures, material and spiritual, but they have brought challenges to readjustment, both by government and individuals, to a changing world. Our country has become powerful among nations. It is charged with infinitely new possibilities both at home and abroad.

What a poet has called the endless adventure, the government of men, discloses new and changing human needs from generation to generation. As we scan our history, even since his day, who can doubt Lincoln's own words that our national heritage is "worth the keeping." And it was Lincoln who stated and restated in impressive terms that its keeping rests upon obedience and enforcement of law. There can be no man in our country who, either by his position or his influence, stands above the law. That the Republic cannot admit and still live. For ours is a government of laws and a society of ordered liberty safeguarded only by law.

The eternal principles of truth, justice and right, never more clearly stated than by Lincoln, remain the solvent for the problems and perplexities of every age and of our day. It is to those who, like Lincoln, have made these principles serve the needs of mankind that the world pays its homage. At this shrine we light the torch of our rededication to the service and ideals of the nation which he loved and served with the last full measure of devotion.

1931

Text of Hoover's Lincoln Tomb Address

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No man gazes upon the tomb of Lincoln without reflection upon his transcendent qualities of patience, fortitude and steadfastness. The very greatness which history and popular imagination have stamped upon him sometimes obscures somewhat the real man back of the symbol which he has become. It is not amiss to reflect that he was a man before becoming a symbol. To appreciate the real meaning of his life we need to contemplate him as the product of the people themselves, as the farm boy, the fence builder, the soldier, the country lawyer, the political candidate, the legislator, and the President, as well as the symbol of union and of human rights.

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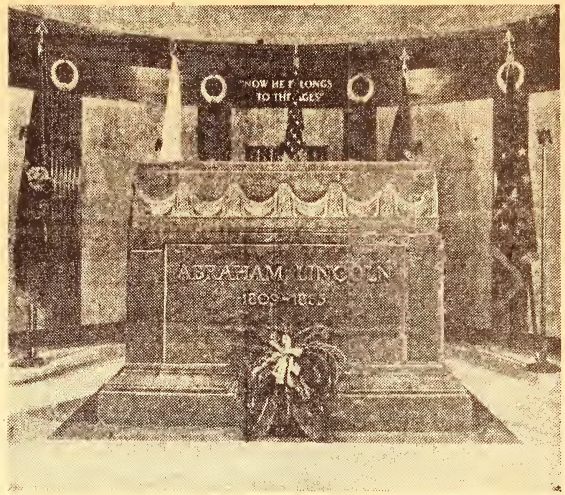
REBUILT TOMB OF THE EMANCIPATOR.



Times Wide World Photo.

Sarcophagus of Abraham Lincoln in the reconstructed Lincoln monument in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Ill., which was rededicated yesterday by President Hoover.

Hoover, Herbert

Calls for Obedience to Law.

The largest crowd greeted the Chief Executive when he went to the reconstructed tomb to dedicate it anew as the tribute of the nation to the Emancipator.

Looking out over a mass of humanity that filled the four-acre space before the tomb and stretched out through the surrounding groves of oaks and elms, President Hoover hit again upon the theme of his inaugural address—obedience to law and enforcement. He asked that we remember Lincoln's statement that our national heritage is "worth the keeping."

"And it was Lincoln who stated and restated inimpressive terms that its keeping rests upon obedience and enforcement of the law," he said.

"There can be no man in our country who, either by his position or his influence, stands above the law. That the republic cannot admit and still live. For ours is a government of laws and a society of ordered liberty, safeguarded only by law."

Some persons in the audience had an idea that the President referred to Al Capone, the Chicago gangster, who, the morning papers related, had pleaded guilty to Federal charges yesterday.

The President pointed out that the six decades which have passed since President Lincoln's death have brought many changes, "bewildering in their variety and momentous in their consequences," to challenge those who have been responsible for the national welfare. But, he said, the "eternal principles of truth, justice and right, never more clearly stated than by Lincoln" remain the solvent for the problems and troubles of every age, even today.

Mr. Hoover praised Lincoln as "our greatest American," a reference interpolated in his prepared address, and placed upon the State of Illinois the responsibility of "safeguarding his remains for the nation."

Recalls Gettysburg Address.

The tomb which President Hoover rededicated was first set aside as an American shrine by President Grant. During the fifty-seven years intervening time has tended to make the emancipator a symbol rather than a man, Mr. Hoover said, but it is not amiss to reflect "that he was a man before becoming a symbol." Thus, he asked, all lovers of the poor, backwoods lad who became the nation's hero to remember him as a farm boy, a fence builder, a soldier, a country lawyer, a political candidate, legislator and President, "as well as the symbol of union and human rights."

The President quoted: "It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the great task remaining before us."

"That should be our purpose and resolve today," he said.

Before going to the speaker's stand, President and Mrs. Hoover officially opened the reconstructed monument. They were the first visitors admitted and first to sign the new register, which later will be made a part of the old one in which more than 2,000,000 names have been written.

Governor and Mrs. Emerson signed as representatives of Illinois. Others signing at the time were Ambassador Charles G. Dawes and Secretary of Commerce Lamont, both members of the President's party; Allan Hoover, the President's son, and members of the Presidential staff.

Applause mounted to cheers when the President arrived at the speakers' stand. To his right sat the official local committee of political and civic leaders, members of the Legislature, State and city officials. Two great oak trees shielded them from the blistering sun, but the sun burned down on the massed thousands of auditors.

The President did not arrive at the tomb until nearly 2:30 o'clock, and the program was under way. The Lincoln Liberty Chorus of Negroes from Chicago sang spirituals. They sang "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" for Mr. Hoover.

In his speech before the legislators, the President said that a study of national legislation would show that an overwhelming proportion of the ideas involved have been "hammered out on the anvil of local experience."

Address to Legislators.

Addressing the joint session of the Legislature, President Hoover said:

I wish to thank you for your courteous and most generous greeting. It is a great honor to meet with the joint session of the Illinois Legislature.

It is a fitting thing that the celebration of this day should be participated in officially by the Assembly of the State of Illinois, in which Mr. Lincoln took so distinguished a part, and by the President of the United States, in whose office Mr. Lincoln became the savior of our republic.

In the presence of this Assembly one thought expressed by Mr. Lincoln recurs to my mind in the relation of the State Legislatures to the whole function and scheme of our government. It is, indeed, a much larger part than the immediate problems of the States with which they deal, for the Legislatures today, as in Mr. Lincoln's time, are the laboratories in which new ideas are developed and in which they are tried out.

A study of national legislation and national action will show that an overwhelming proportion of the ideas which have been developed nationally have first been born in the State Legislatures as the result of the problems which have developed within the States. They have been given trial, they have been hammered out on the anvil of local experience.

Valuable to the Whole Nation.

It is true that not all of the ideas come through this successfully. But even the negative values of the trial, especially in some parts of the Union, are of themselves of inestimable value to the nation as a whole. And the ideas which develop with success become of vital importance to our people at large.

Ours must be a country of constant change and progress because of one fact alone among many others, and that is that the constant discoveries in science, and their produce in new invention shift our basis of human relationships and our mode of life in such a fashion as to require a constant remodeling and the remolding of the government.

Hoover, Herbert

New York Times, Feb. 13, '31.

HOOVER THE INDIVIDUALIST.

In his radio address last evening from the very room in the White House where LINCOLN did most of his work as President, Mr. HOOVER paid tribute to his great predecessor. But he quickly passed on from the vital issues which confronted this nation in LINCOLN'S day, to the problems and perplexities of the present time. In so far as this speech on LINCOLN'S Birthday was given a somewhat partisan tinge, its good taste might be questioned. It was scarcely the occasion to magnify the protective tariff, or to claim LINCOLN as a continuing asset of the Republican party. LINCOLN should not be made to give up for party what was meant for mankind. Yet in the troubles which have so thickly beset President HOOVER, he may be excused for insisting upon "majority rule," and the absolute need of a loyal "party organization." It is all very fine for the President to assert that the Republican party is "a party of responsibility, a party of the Constitution," but he doubtless would be willing to praise it less if it would only support him more.

Passing this by, it is to be noted that as regards the questions which have been in controversy between himself and Congress, Mr. HOOVER sticks to his guns. He repeats, in spirit and almost in words, the address which he made in this city during the Presidential campaign of 1928, in which he revealed himself as at heart a stern and unbending individualist. Again he affirms his allegiance to local government as against distant and bureaucratic control from Washington. Once more he exalts individual initiative. Admitting that in times of acute emergency it may be necessary for the Federal Government to act as it would not think of doing in ordinary circumstances, the President still insists that the people do best when they try to work out their own salvation, even in the midst of calamity and misery.

Fortunately, Mr. HOOVER is able to point to the magnificent response which Americans have made in their private capacity to the appeals in behalf of their suffering fellow-citizens. The Red Cross fund marches steadily toward its announced goal of $10,000,000. Fewer authentic complaints come from the regions where the agents of the Red Cross have been organizing their efficient work. There is good hope that there will be no need of using, for food or clothes or medicine, any part of the fund which Congress has made available in case the Red Cross supplies fall short. In this matter, therefore, it may fairly be said that President HOOVER is warranted in his belief that voluntary effort and private benevolence will in this country always be equal to the demands suddenly made by even a great disaster.

Hoover, Herbert

HOOVER IN TRIBUTE

'Lincoln Believed Americans Should Be Masters, Not Pawns,' He Says

NEW YORK, Feb. 12.—(AP)—Former President Herbert Hoover tonight eulogized Abraham Lincoln as a great liberal who "believed passionately that Americans should be the masters of the State and not the pawns of the State."

Hoover, in a brief address at the 49th Lincoln Day dinner of the National Republican Club, joined with Dr. Glenn Frank, Col. Theodore Roosevelt and other noted Republicans in paying tribute to the Great Emancipator.

But unlike the others, he made no direct attack on the present administration.

Dr. Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin, declared America had "in essence, joined the mad reversion to primitive tribalism" exemplified by the post war nationalism in Europe.

Colonel Roosevelt assailed the national administration as "traitors to the very people whose favor they seek to gain."

Hoover said:

"Lincoln believed that while changes were inevitable to meet the shifting scenes and problems of the day, that those changes would be in method and not in principle.

"He held the abiding spiritual truth that all individual and national security must rest upon the orderly processes of constitutional self-government.

In his own words: 'A majority, held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, is the only true covereign of a free people.'

Text of the President's Address

Following, in full, is the address delivered last night over the radio from the White House by President Hoover:

By the magic of the radio I am able to address several hundred public gatherings called this evening throughout our country in celebration of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

It is appropriate that I should speak from this room in the White House where Lincoln strived and accomplished his great service to our country.

His invisible presence dominates these halls, ever recalling that infinite patience and that indomitable will which fought and won the fight for those firmer foundations and greater strength to government by the people. From these windows he looked out upon that great granite shaft which was then in construction to mark the country's eternal tribute to the courage and uncompromising strength of the founder of this Union of States.

Here are the very chairs in which he meditated upon his problems. Above the mantelpiece hangs his portrait with his Cabinet, and upon this fireplace is written:

"In this room Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, whereby 4,000,000 slaves were given their freedom and slavery forever prohibited in these United States."

It was here that he toiled by day and by night that the Union created by the fathers might be preserved and that slavery might be ended.

Most of the business of this room in Lincoln's time was concerned with the conduct of war against destructive forces. From here he could oft hear the sound of approaching cannon, and yet the thought that he should desert his place, this city and this house, never entered into his considerations.

Lincoln was a builder in an epoch of destruction. It was his assignment by Providence to restore the national edifice, so badly shattered in its social and economic structure that it had well-nigh failed. His undying idealism and inflexible resolve builded a new temple of the national soul in which our succeeding generations have since dwelt secure and free and of a richer life.

If Lincoln Were Living Today.

And if Lincoln could today resurvey the scene of his country he would find a Union more solidly knit and more resolute in its common purpose than ever in its history. He would find the States of the South recovered from the wounds of war, inspired by the splendid leadership of a new generation to a brilliant renaissance of industry and culture.

He would indeed find the consummation of that great moving appeal of his inaugural in which he said

"The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

It was indeed a great prophecy.

If Lincoln were living, he would find that this race of liberated slaves, starting a new life without a shred but the clothes in which they stood, without education, without organization, has today by its own endeavors progressed to an amazingly high level of self-reliance and well-being. To Lincoln it would have been incredible that within a lifetime the millions of children of these slaves would be graduating from the public schools and colleges, that the race could have builded itself homes and accumulated itself a wealth in lands and savings; that it should have carried on with success every calling and profession in our country.

While the dramatic period of Lincoln's life was engrossed with these tremendous problems, yet he was a man of many interests. He was a believer in party government. He realized, as we also must realize, that fundamentally our whole self-government is conceived and born of majority rule, and to enable the majority to express itself we must have party organization. Lincoln led in founding the Republican party and he gloried in his party. His tradition has dominated it to this day. It was and is a party of responsibility; it was and is a party of the Constitution.

While many of the issues of that time are dead and gone, some of our present problems were equally vivid in his day. You will find Lincoln addressing the country in strong and urgent support of the protective tariff with vivid declamation against the party opposing that policy. You will find him advocating Federal Government aid in internal development of waterways, rivers and harbors and transportation. You will find him pounding at the public mind against nullification and for adherence to constitutional processes of government. No stronger statement has ever been made than that of Lincoln upon obedience to law as the very foundation of our Republic.

The Issue of States' Rights.

In Lincoln's day the dominant problem in our form of government turned upon the issue of States' rights. Though less pregnant with disaster, the dominant problem today in our form of government turns in large degree upon the issue of the relationship of Federal, State and local government responsibilities. We are faced with unceasing agitation that the Federal Government shall assume new financial burdens, that it shall undertake increased burdens in regulation of abuses and in the prosecution of crime.

It is true that since Lincoln's time many forces have swept across State borders and have become more potent than the State or local community can deal with alone either financially or by jurisdiction. Our concept of Federal, State and local responsibilities is possible of no unchangeable definitions and it must shift with the moving forces in the nation; but the time has come when we must have more national consideration and decision of the part which each shall assume in these responsibilities.

The Federal Government has assumed many new responsibilities since Lincoln's time, and will probably assume more in the future when the States and local communities cannot alone cure abuse or bear the entire cost of national programs, but there is an essential principle that should be maintained in these matters. I am convinced that where Federal action is essential, then in most cases it should limit its responsibilities to supplement the States and local communities, and that it should not assume the major rôle or the entire responsibility in replacement of the State or local government. To do otherwise threatens the whole foundations of local government, which is the very basis of self-government.

The moment responsibilities of any community, particularly in economic and social questions, are shifted from any part of the nation to Washington, then that community has subjected itself to a remote bureaucracy with its minimum of understanding and of sympathy. It has lost a large part of its voice and its control of its own destiny. Under Federal control the varied conditions of life in our country are forced into standard molds, with all their limitations upon life, either of the individual or the community. Where people divest themselves of local government responsibilities they at once lay the foundation for the destruction of their liberties.

And buried in this problem lies something even deeper. The whole of our governmental machinery was devised for the purpose that through ordered liberty we give incentive and equality of opportunity to every individual to rise to that highest achievement of which he is capable. At once when government is centralized there arises a limitation upon the liberty of the individual and a restriction of individual opportunity.

The True Growth of the Nation.

The true growth of the nation is the growth of character in its citizens. The spread of government destroys initiative and thus destroys character. Character is

New York Times
Feb. 13, 1931

made in the community as well as in the individual by assuming responsibilities, not by escape from them. Carried to its logical extreme, all this shouldering of individual and community responsibility upon the government can lead but to the superstate, where every man becomes the servant of the State and real liberty is lost. Such was not the government that Lincoln sought to build.

There is an entirely different avenue by which we may both resist this drift to centralized government and at the same time meet a multitude of problems. That is to strengthen in the nation a sense and an organization of self-help and cooperation to solve as many problems as possible outside of government. We are today passing through a critical test in such a problem arising from the economic depression.

Due to lack of caution in business and to the impact of forces from an outside world, one-half of which is involved in social and political revolution, the march of our prosperity has been retarded. We are projected into temporary unemployment, losses and hardships. In a nation rich in resources, many people were faced with hunger and cold through no fault of their own. Our national resources are not only material supplies and material wealth but a spiritual and moral wealth in kindliness, in compassion, in a sense of obligation of neighbor to neighbor and a realization of responsibility by industry, by business, and the community for its social security and its social welfare.

The evidence of our ability to solve great problems outside of government action and the degree of moral strength with which we emerge from this period will be determined by whether the individuals and the local communities continue to meet their responsibilities.

Throughout this depression I have insisted upon organization of these forces through industry, through local government and through charity, that they should meet this crisis by their own initiative, by the assumption of their own responsibilities. The Federal Government has sought to do its part by example in the expansion of employment, by affording credit to drought sufferers for rehabilitation, and by cooperation with the community, and thus to avoid the opiates of government charity and the stifling of our national spirit of mutual self-help.

We can take courage and pride in the effective work of thousands of voluntary organizations for provision of employment, for relief of distress, that have sprung up over the entire nation. Industry and business have recognized a social obligation to their employes as never before. The State and local governments are being helpful. The people are themselves succeeding in this task. Never before in a great depression has there been so systematic a protection against distress; never before has there been so little social disorder; never before has there been such an outpouring of the spirit of self-sacrifice and service.

The Challenge of Modern Life.

The ever-growing complexity of modern life, with its train of evermore perplexing and difficult problems, is a challenge to our individual characters and to our devotion to our ideals. The resourcefulness of America when challenged has never failed. Success is not gained by leaning upon government to solve all the problems before us. That way leads to enervation of will and destruction of character.

Victory over this depression and over our other difficulties will be won by the resolution of our people to fight their own battles in their own communities, by stimulating their ingenuity to solve their own problems, by taking new courage to be masters of their own destiny in the struggle of life. This is not the easy way, but it is the American way. And it was Lincoln's way.

The ultimate goal of the American social ideal is equality of opportunity and individual initiative. These are not born of bureaucracy. This ideal is the expression of the spirit of our people. This ideal obtained at the birth of the Republic. It was the ideal of Lincoln. It is the ideal upon which the nation has risen to unparalleled greatness.

We are going through a period when character and courage are on trial, and where the very faith that is within us is under test. Our people are meeting this test. And they are doing more than the immediate task of the day. They are maintaining the ideals of our American system. By their devotion to these ideals we shall come out of these times stronger in character, in courage and in faith.

MR. HOOVER AT GETTYSBURG.

5-31-30

It is an unconscious cruelty to ask the President or anybody else to speak on the battlefield of Gettysburg. The few, and at the time unregarded, words uttered there by Mr. LINCOLN in 1863 should be read ~~there~~ reverently year after year. There can be but one Gettysburg Address. In accordance with custom, Mr. HOOVER went through the ordeal yesterday, fully conscious of it. With perfect good taste he conformed to the proprieties and necessities of the occasion, made LINCOLN the cardinal figure, and celebrated the common ideals and purposes in striving for which, generation after generation, Americans may be conceived as united universally.

By the circumstances of the occasion Mr. HOOVER was compelled to present a general and idealized picture and to give a generous counsel of perfection. "The moderation and calm vision" of Mr. LINCOLN were scantily appreciated in his own day. If he had lived he would have been hounded as mercilessly by the leaders of his party as was ANDREW JOHNSON, the inheritor of his policies of reconstruction. So far as passion and unreason and cynicism and demagogy are concerned, Mr. LINCOLN'S "restraint and inspiration" had no effect upon his party in the first reckless years after his death. WASHINGTON'S "restraint" could not restrain the anti-Federalists from the foulest abuse of him. There was plenty of ill feeling going on even in the so-called Era of Good-Feeling.

Mr. HOOVER is fully aware that he is but erecting a Utopian-scientific State upon the hills of heaven when he counts among "the paths of true glory for this Nation"

to reflect into every aspect of public life the spirit of charity, the practice of forbearance and the restraint of passion while reason seeks the way; to lay aside blind prejudice and follow knowledge together.

Democracies cannot be carried on in that way; nor would it be healthful for them. For them the rough-and-tumble manner; the "hurling" of the epithet and the lie; the invention of myths; the exploitation of passion; the whipping-up of prejudice. Yet all this goes on with the half-wink and the exaggeration which is one form of our humor. After the shindy most of the combatants are willing to shake hands. In the case of great leaders exposed to the storms of angry times the hour of forgiveness is slow, but bound to come. There is even passion in the final reconciliation. We burned Mr. LINCOLN and then adored him. The same historical process is going on in regard to Mr. WILSON. Our Presidents are much buffeted in office; but that is a part of the game. The greatest of them are sure of apotheosis and to be praised, at least after their deaths, as excessively as they were damned in their lives.

6-1-32

The President at Gettysburg.

Lincoln at Gettysburg was properly the top ic of Hoover at Gettysburg. The President of today put the emphasis in his address upon the vision, the charity, the moderation of the President under whose guidance the broken Union was restored. Pleading for spiritual values in "every aspect of public life," he asked the people of this country "to lay aside blind prejudice and follow knowledge together."

That in essence was Lincoln's plea at Gettysburg. It was the gospel that Lincoln preached and lived. Whether he would have been able to make it effective had he escaped the assassin's bullet may only be conjectured. Had he survived he would have faced within his own party the antagonism of bitter, able and resolute men determined to make the conquered South pay for secession a penalty beyond defeat on the battlefield. We like to think that he would have been too strong for them, but we cannot be sure.

No one knows better than Mr. Hoover when he exalts the Lincoln ideal that charity, forbearance and restraint of passion have not been attained in public life. He is speaking of what ought to be, not of what is. We do not "lay aside blind prejudice and follow knowledge together." When we differ on great questions those who hold to one view are more than likely to impute prejudice to the opposition and to think of their own opinions as expressing only honest and informed convictions. And when it comes to following knowledge together it may be asked what knowledge is and who has a monopoly of it.

Democratic government implies conflict often unrestrained and frequently violent. It involves partisanship and, to a degree, the narrow sectionalism that ignores the interests of the country as a whole. That has always been the case with democratic government here as with democratic government elsewhere. Perhaps it must always be the case with democratic government everywhere and at all time. Lincoln met such conditions and overcame them, and as the greatest of all masters of politics he set up a standard of conduct in public life which cannot be too often emphasized. It represents an ideal to be sought for even if it cannot be attained.

McKinley used to stare out the south window of his office across the Potomac flats into Virginia. I heard him say that Lincoln used to stand here so much, and that he found inspiration in the spot. I told President Wilson this during the great war. Often afterward I would see him standing at this window, lost in reflection.

All Presidents have looked to Lincoln for inspiration. Roosevelt had Lincoln's picture hung at the foot of the main stairs. Coolidge had it put just outside the elevator door. Now comes Hoover, and one of his first acts is to change the portrait to the walls of the dining room, where he sits and gazes at it all through the meal.

April 21, 1929: I have never missed an official function of any kind in thirty-eight years of service.

Old Jerry, the colored Executive Office janitor, swept the floor with a feather duster, saw ghosts, especially Lincoln's and Grant's, and sang to himself to keep his spirits up. He doubled as a carriage caller and once sang out, "The Watermelon minister!" for the Guatemalan minister. It was Jerry who once ran up the White House flag upside down. It was discovered and righted after ten minutes, but one of the reporters had seen it. When he inquired, the facts were explained to him and he was asked not to print the story, as it was not a matter of public interest and might get Jerry into trouble. He promised, but when his paper came out that afternoon there was a big story on the front page with a faked picture of the flag flying wrong side up. Many other papers copied the story. Fortunately, Jerry was not blamed. When the reporter was spoken to later, his excuse was that he had to tell his office, for fear another paper might get hold of the incident, and that the office had seen fit to print it. This is told merely to illustrate again one of the liabilities of being in the White House, where the news gatherers consider every grunt, groan or smile a piece of news that the world must know. Sat. Evening Post 3-31-34

Hoover walks in Sullivan Sun Post

Hoover, Pres. Herbert

Text of President's Address

The text of President Hoover's address by radio from Washington to the Lincoln Day dinner of the National Republican Club in New York last night follows:

I deeply regret that public duties make it impossible for me to be present with you at your Lincoln Day dinner this evening. It is, however, a privilege and obligation for every American to join even for a few moments in a tribute to Abraham Lincoln.

I gave a brief address from this room in the White House a year ago tonight. I stated then that it was the room in which a long line of Presidents from Adams to Roosevelt have labored for the single purpose of their country's welfare. It was in this room from which I am speaking that Lincoln labored incessantly day and night for the preservation of the Union. No one can enter here without being sensitive to those invisible influences of the men who have gone before.

It was from this window that for five years Lincoln looked across the Potomac upon a flag under which embattled forces threatened our national unity. Unafraid, he toiled here with patience, with understanding, with steadfastness, with genius and courage that those wounds of a distraught nation might be healed, and that that flag which waved over this house might be restored as the symbol of a united country.

We rightly look back upon that time as the period of the greatest strain and stress which has threatened our country. But its wounds have long since healed and its memories are of the glorious valor and courage of our race, both North and South. They bring into bold relief memories of a great son of America who freed the country from slavery, preserved the solidarity of the Union, revitalized the nation, reinspired the people with a new purpose and set for them a new destiny.

While we are in the midst of the difficulties of this day we may well entertain the feeling that history will record this period as one of the most difficult in its strains and stresses upon the timbers of the Republic that has been experienced since Lincoln's time. There are enduring principles and national ideals to be preserved against the pressures of today.

The forces with which we are contending are far less tangible than those of Lincoln's time. They are invisible forces, yet potent in their powers of destruction. We are engaged in a fight upon a hundred fronts just as positive, just as definite and requiring just as greatly the moral courage, the organized action, the unity of strength and the sense of devotion in every community as in war.

I am confident of the resources, the power and the courage of our people to triumph over any national difficulty. They are rallying to their responsibilities. They are thus doing more than serving their immediate needs. They are buttressing the very foundations of self-government. They are defending the very principles of liberty and freedom. They are showing the patience and the steadfastness of Abraham Lincoln.

Ours is a government of political parties. Lincoln was the leader of a party whose traditions and tenets are precious to all those who adhere to it. But we do not celebrate the birth of Lincoln as a political event. Instead we celebrate his birthday as the most significant for any American after Washington. In its celebration, we find renewed courage and strength. Our obligation to Lincoln is to be resolute in our determination to maintain the principles which Washington forged from the fires of revolution and which Lincoln strengthened in the fires of civil strife.

Lincoln deservedly shares with Washington the distinction of a nationally commemorated anniversary. Today, as throughout recent decades, his vision sets the guide posts of American conscience and American ideals. This humble man of the wilderness who labored over grub-hoe and axe in his youth never saw a city until he was 20 years old, never opened a grammar until after he had attained his majority. Yet he became one of the few masters of the English language. There are no nobler utterances, no greater inspirations to people than his many appealing statements culminating with his Gettysburg speech. A race is fortunate that can contribute a voice calling to order and to conscience in the world which shall be heard above the froth and immaterial substance of every ady life. It comes to few men to become that voice to their generation. Still fewer are they whose voices resound through the life of a people.

Abraham Lincoln more than any other man gave expression to the heart and the character and the faith of our race. Washington was indeed the father of our country. Lincoln was its greatest son.

HOOVER'S TELEGRAM

The White House, Washington, D. C., February 10, 1930.

Ernest C. Moore,
President Lincoln Club of Southern California,
Los Angeles, Cal.

The spirit of Abraham Lincoln more and more permeates the political ideals of our people. His greatness of heart, his wide comprehension of issues, and his patience, his belief in the people—are touchstones of democracy and of practical government.

Abraham Lincoln believed in party government. He held that government by the majority was one of the most essential principles of democracy, and that the majority could not express its will except through party organization. He believed that political parties must have a spirit as well as a program. He endowed the Republican party with a great tradition, a sense of organization and a sense of responsibility to the people which has dominated its spirit since his day.

It is a sure instinct and a worthy thing that brings the members of the Republican party together each year to commemorate his birth. I would be glad if you would convey my greetings and good wishes upon this occasion.

HERBERT HOOVER.

BLAKESLEE

Hoover, President Herbert

PRESIDENT AT GETTYSBURG EXTOLS LINCOLN'S IDEALS AS GUIDE FOR NATION NOW

TOLERANT SPIRIT URGED

"Calm Vision of Lincoln" Held Up as Inspiration in Time of Trouble.

MODERATION AID TO UNITY

President Deplores "Demagogic Folly" and "Reckless Ambition" in National Affairs.

VETERANS SHARE PLATFORM

Lone Confederate in Gray Sits Among Former Foes—Girls Strew Flowers on Graves.

1930

From a Staff Correspondent of The New York Times.

GETTYSBURG, Pa., May 30.—With the vision of Lincoln before him, President Hoover pointed today to the calm and moderate leadership of the Civil War President as an inspiration to follow in these days when "problems loom ominous and their solution difficult."

The President's speech, which was only 1,020 words long, was said to be the briefest Presidential address at Gettysburg since that of Lincoln in 1863.

Although the President's address at this historic battleground lacked any personal note, it was interpreted by some as a reflection of his own mental processes and manner of dealing with public questions. He commented incisively that in the years since Lincoln's time "reason has not always ruled," and "quiet negotiation has not always replaced the clamor of the hustings."

Recalling that no President was ever so beset in his work as Lincoln, Mr. Hoover asserted that even if today's difficulties seemed great, "we would be of little courage if in our concerns we had less of faith than Lincoln had in his far greater task."

Further on in his address, delivered as a part of the Memorial Day exercises on the scene of the great struggle of 1863 he spoke of the "abuse of politics" which, he added, "so often muddies the stream of constructive thought and dams back the flow of well-considered action."

The ideals which Lincoln inspired, the President declared, had helped to mold the national life and brought a great spiritual unity, and, no matter how the pattern of the nation changed, it must be held eternally valid by all Americans.

The Union, Mr. Hoover continued, was not merely a physical union of States, but a union of the common ideals of Americans, and one affording opportunity for growth, but only if a spiritual solidarity was preserved.

Maintaining that the things of the spirit alone persist, President Hoover closed his speech with a plea for the high ideals which furnish "the paths of true glory for this nation."

Text of President's Speech.

The President spoke as follows:

Fellow-Countrymen:

We stand today amid monuments to the valor and glory of a generation of Americans, North and South, now well-nigh gone. Most of those who bore the burdens of the Civil War have joined their comrades who sleep beneath these mounds. Of a thousand brigades which marched in that great conflict scarce a score remain.

To the dead we pay again our tribute of gratitude and devotion. To the living we extend heartfelt wishes for a continuation of peaceful years, serene in contemplation of their glorious youth. The time must come, all too soon, when these living ties of our generation with the historic past will have passed on. Then we shall have only cherished memories to remind us of those men who heroically died and those women who bravely suffered for great ideals, or who lived on to consummate the reunion of our country, to give stability to its government and peace to its people.

Every American's thought of this great battlefield of Gettysburg flashes with the instant vision of the lonely figure of Lincoln, whose immortal words dominate this scene. No monument has been or can be erected here so noble and enduring as that simple address which has become a part of this place. Greater than the tribute of granite or bronze remains that memorable message to the American people.

That appeal for the unity of our people and the perpetuation of the fundamentals of our democracy is as vital today in our national thinking as it was when Lincoln spoke.

Behind him were the seventy years of national experience that had passed between himself and Washington. His words from their span of the past rang with courage and assurance for the future.

Though no President has been so beset, though no time in our history has been so dark, though never have strong men been so affected with doubts, yet in the midst of all that turmoil he found strength to lift his head above the clouds and proclaim that vision which the passing years have so fully confirmed.

New Problems Have Arisen.

Today nearly seventy years have passed since Lincoln spoke. Ours is a new day and ours are new problems of the Republic. There are times when these problems loom ominous and their solution difficult. Yet, great as our difficulties may sometimes seem, we would be of little courage if in our concerns we had less of faith than Lincoln had in his far greater task.

Lincoln's counsels sounded strangely when spoken in the midst of war. His was the call of moderation. Our history would be even brighter than it is if his predecessors and his contemporaries had spoken as temperately as he, if they had been moved by charity toward all, by malice toward none.

We shall be wise to ponder here what precious wealth of human life might have been preserved, what rivers of tears might never have flowed, what anguish of souls need never have been, what spiritual division of our people might have been avoided, if only our leadership had always been tempered by the moderation and calm vision of Lincoln.

Since his day reason has not always ruled instead of passion, knowledge has not always been sought instead of reliance upon unproved conjecture, patience has not ever delayed the impetuous feet of reckless ambition, quiet negotiation has not always replaced the clamor of the hustings, prudent common counsel has not invariably overcome the allurements of demagogic folly, good-will has not always won the day over cynicism and vainglory.

Yet the ideals which he inspired have served to mold our national life and have brought in time great spiritual unity. His words have poured their blessings of restraint and inspiration upon each new generation.

In the weaving of our destiny, the pattern may change, yet the woof and warp of our weaving must be those inspired ideals of unity, of ordered liberty, of equality of opportunity, of popular government, and of peace to which this nation was dedicated.

Whatever the terms may be in which we enunciate these great ideals, whatever the terms may be in which we apply them, they must be held eternally valid. The common striving for these ideals, our common heritage as Americans, and the infinite web of national sentiment—these are the things that have made us a great nation, that have created a solidarity in a great people unparalleled in all human history.

Freedom's Growth From Struggles.

The weaving of freedom is and always will be a struggle of law against lawlessness, of individual liberty against domination, of unity against sectionalism, of truth and honesty against demagoguery and misleading, of peace against fear and conflict. In the forming of this pattern, the abuse of politics often muddies the stream of con-

structive thought and dams back the flow of well-considered action.

In the solution of the problems of our times we have some new lamps to guide us. The light of science has revealed to us a new understanding of forces and a myriad of instruments of physical ease and comfort to add to the joy of life.

The growth of communications, of education, of the press, have made possible a new unity of thought and purpose. But the light that guides our soul remains the same as that whereby our fathers were led. It is the store of knowledge, the great inspiration of men's souls, the ideals which they carry forward, that have lifted the nation to ever greater heights.

The Union has become not merely a physical union of States, but rather is a spiritual union in common ideals of our people. Within it is room for every variety of opinion, every possibility of experiment in social progress. Out of such variety comes growth, but only if we preserve and maintain our spiritual solidarity.

The things of the spirit alone persist. It is in that field that the nation makes its lasting progress. To cherish religious faith and the tolerance of all faiths; to reflect into every aspect of public life the spirit of charity, the practice of forbearance, and the restraint of passion while reason seeks the way; to lay aside blind prejudice and follow knowledge together; to pursue diligently the common welfare and find within its boundaries our private benefit; to enlarge the borders of opportunity for all and find our own within them; to enhance the greatness of the nation and thereby find for ourselves an individual distinction; to face with courage and confident expectation the task set before us, these are the paths of true glory for this nation.

They will lead us to a life more abounding, richer in satisfaction, more enduring in its achievements, more precious in its bequests to our children—a life not merely of conflict but filled with the joy of creative action.

Facing Mr. Hoover as he stood on the platform was a group of bent and withered Union veterans. Seated behind Mr. Hoover were other old men garbed in blue, their jackets covered with medals and other insignia of service to the nation.

One gray uniform stood out among them. It was worn by William Haines, aged 93, of Washington, a former Confederate cavalryman. He was the first Southern veteran to sit on the platform at Gettysburg memorial exercises.

On his arrival at Gettysburg the President was met by Governor Fisher of Pennsylvania and Henry P. Fletcher, former Ambassador to Italy, a personal friend of Mr. Hoover. As the car carrying the Governor and the President left the highway Mr. Hoover caught a glimpse of hundreds of school children standing on a knoll above the graves of hundreds of unknown soldiers, who fell in the three days of battle.

Children Decorate Graves.

At a designated point the motor procession was halted. A band, hidden behind ancient trees and boxwood, struck up the hymn "Nearer My God to Thee." The children, most of them gaily dressed girls, advanced slowly down the hillside, strewing flowers on the graves.

Mr. Hoover and Governor Fisher walked among the children to the National Soldiers' Monument. The President placed a wreath at its base. He was surrounded by children as he made his way back to his car.

The platform from which the President spoke stands in a grove of great age and beauty. The trees form the background of a natural amphitheatre. Thousands of men and women were shouting an ovation when the President, surrounded by his military aides and his three secretaries, mounted the stand. Governor Fisher and his cabinet appeared immediately after the President.

Governor Fisher presided at the ceremonies. The Rev. Henry W. A. Hanson, president of Gettysburg College, gave the invocation. As a prelude to the President's address the audience sang "America." Then in tribute to the memory of Lincoln, Judge Donald H. McPherson read the Gettysburg Address.

Governor Fisher, in introducing the President, said that while visiting Mr. Hoover in his California home preceding the Presidential election, he had exacted from Mr. Hoover the promise that if elected he would speak here on Memorial Day.

Fisher Introduces Hoover.

"A few months ago, when I reminded him of his promise," said the Governor, "the President heartily agreed to come here.

"I think this is the proper time and proper place for the President to address the American people. All of us today have turned our thoughts to the things and ideals of patriotism and to the memory of our heroic dead.

"So it is proper that the head of the nation should be here to speak a few steps distant from where Lincoln spoke and give added immortality to this consecrated ground. On every side rise monuments indicating deeds of sacrifice by men who wore the Blue and the Gray.

"It is a solemn occasion, and we appreciate and welcome the presence of President Hoover."

A strong wind was blowing and the sky was overcast when the President started speaking, but the amplifiers carried his words to the outskirts of the crowds. Before he had proceeded many minutes the sun broke through the clouds and glistened on the gay colors of the President's flag, the Governor's flag and the flags of the State and the nation.

The President read his address in nine minutes, and while the audience cheered and sang "The Star Spangled Banner," Mr. Hoover turned to greet the ancient warriors who surrounded him. Many noted figures of the thinning ranks were on the platform.

Hoover Greets Veterans.

John B. Patrick of G. A. R. Post 58 of Harrisburg, formerly State commander, was one of the first to feel the President's handclasp. Many of the veterans were of such advanced age that they could scarcely stand without assistance. Not a few of them had fought at Gettysburg.

It was with deep emotion that Mr. Hoover spoke a word to each of them. Just before he left the grounds surrounding the stand, Mr. Hoover greeted Mrs. M. O. Smith, aged 87, of Hanover, Pa., who had sung in the choir on the occasion of Lincoln's address. Mr. Hoover took her arm, and with a smile of appreciation posed for the photographers.

The President and Governor Fisher departed immediately after the ceremonies ended with a benediction by the Rev. John A. Aberly.

SATURDAY. MAY 31. 1930.

Complete Text of the President's Radio Address

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12.—The text of President Hoover's radio address from the White House tonight in tribute to Abraham Lincoln follows:

By the magic of the radio I am able to address several hundred public gatherings called this evening throughout our country in celebration of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

It is appropriate that I should speak from this room in the White House where Lincoln strived and accomplished his great service to our country.

His invisible presence dominates these halls, ever recalling that infinite patience and that indomitable will which fought and won the fight for those firmer foundations and greater strength to government by the people. From these windows he looked out upon that great granite shaft which was then in construction to mark the country's eternal tribute to the courage and uncompromising strength of the founder of this Union of States.

Here are the very chairs in which he meditated upon his problems. Above the mantelpiece hangs his portrait with his Cabinet, and upon this fireplace is written:

"In this room Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, whereby 4,000,000 slaves were given their freedom and slavery forever prohibited in these United States."

It was here that he toiled by day and by night that the Union created by the fathers might be preserved and that slavery might be ended.

Lincoln as a Builder

Most of the business of this room in Lincoln's time was concerned with the conduct of war against destructive forces. From here he could oft hear the sound of approaching cannon, and yet the thought that he should desert his place, this city and this house, never entered into his considerations. Lincoln was a builder in an epoch of destruction. It was his assignment by Providence to restore the national edifice, so badly shattered in its social and economic structure that it had well-nigh failed. His undying idealism and inflexible resolve builded a new temple of the national soul in which our succeeding generations have since dwelt secure and free and of a richer life.

And if Lincoln could today re-survey the scene of his country he would find a union more solidly knit and more resolute in its common purpose than ever in its history. He would find the States of the South recovered from the wounds of war, inspired by the splendid leadership of a new generation to a brilliant renaissance of industry and culture.

He would indeed find the consummation of that great moving appeal of his inaugural in which he said: "The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." It was indeed a great prophecy.

His Pride in His Party

If Lincoln were living he would find that this race of liberated slaves, starting a new life without a shred but the clothes in which they stood, without education, without organiza- [illegible] endeavors was and is a party of the Constitution.

While many of the issues of that time are dead and gone, some of our present problems were equally vivid in his day. You will find Lincoln addressing the country in strong and urgent support of the protective tariff with vivid declamation against the party opposing that policy. You will find him advocating Federal government aid in internal development of waterways, rivers and harbors and transportation. You will find him pounding at the public mind against nullification and for adherence to constitutional processes of government. No stronger statement has ever been made than that of Lincoln upon obedience to law as the very foundation of our Republic.

Value of Local Government

In Lincoln's day the dominant problem in our form of government turned upon the issue of state rights. Though less pregnant with disaster the dominant problem today in our form of government turns in large degree upon the issue of the relationship of Federal, state and local government responsibilities. We are faced with unceasing agitation that the Federal government shall assume new financial burdens, that it shall undertake increased burdens in regulations of abuses and in the prosecution of crime.

It is true that since Lincoln's time many forces have swept across state borders and have become more potent than the state or local community can deal with alone either financially or by jurisdiction. Our concept of Federal, state, and local responsibilities is possible of no unchangeable definitions and it must shift with the moving forces in the nation, but the time has come when we must have more national consideration and decision of the part which each shall assume in these responsibilities.

The Federal government has assumed many new responsibilities since Lincoln's time, and will probably assume more in the future when the states and local communities cannot alone cure abuse or bear the entire cost of national programs, but there is an essential principle that should be maintained in these matters. I am convinced that where Federal action is essential then in most cases it should limit its responsibilities to supplement the states and local communities, and that it should not assume the major role or the entire responsibility, in replacement of the states or local government. To do otherwise threatens the whole foundations of local government, which is the very basis of self-government.

The Character of the Citizenry

The moment responsibilities of any community, particularly in economic and social questions, are shifted from any part of the nation to Washington, then that community has subjected itself to a remote bureaucracy with its minimum of understanding and of sympathy. It has lost a large part of its voice and its control of its own destiny. Under Federal control the varied conditions of life in our country are forced into standard molds, with all their limitations upon life, either of the individual or the community. Where people divest themselves of local government responsibilities they at once lay the foundation for the destruction of their liberties.

And buried in this problem lies something even deeper. The whole [illegible] machinery was nue by which we may both resist this drift to centralized government and at the same time meet a multitude of problems. That is to strengthen in the nation a sense and an organization of self-help and co-operation to solve as many problems as possible outside of government. We are today passing through a critical test in such a problem arising from the economic depression.

Due to lack of caution in business and to the impact of forces from an outside world, one-half of which is involved in social and political revolution, the march of our prosperity has been retarded. We are projected into temporary unemployment, losses and hardships. In a nation rich in resources many people were faced with hunger and cold through no fault of their own. Our national resources are not only material supplies and material wealth, but a spiritual and moral wealth in kindliness, in compassion, in a sense of obligation of neighbor to neighbor and a realization of responsibility by industry, by business and the community for its social security and its social welfare.

The evidence of our ability to solve great problems outside of government action and the degree of moral strength with which we emerge from this period will be determined by whether the individuals and the local communities continue to meet their responsibilities.

Pride in Our Relief Efforts

Throughout this depression I have insisted upon organization of these forces through industry, through local government and through charity, that they should meet this crisis by their own initiative, by the assumption of their own responsibilities. The Federal government has sought to do its part by example in the expansion of employment, by affording credit to drought sufferers for rehabilitation and by co-operation with the community, and thus to avoid the opiates of government charity and the stifling of our national spirit of mutual self-help.

We can take courage and pride in the effective work of thousands of voluntary organizations for provision of employment, for relief of distress, that have sprung up over the entire nation. Industry and business have recognized a social obligation to their employees as never before. The state and local governments are being helpful. The people are themselves succeeding in this task. Never before in a great depression has there been so systematic a protection against distress; never before has there been so little social disorder; never before has there been such an outpouring of the spirit of self-sacrifice and of service.

Lincoln's Ideals

The ever-growing complexity of modern life, with its train of ever more perplexing and difficult problems, is a challenge to our individual characters and to our devotion to our ideals. The resourcefulness of America when challenged has never failed. Success is not gained by leaning upon government to solve all the problems before us. That way leads to enervation of will and destruction of character. Victory over this depression and over our other difficulties will be won by the resolution of our people to fight their own battles in their own communities, by stimulating their ingenuity to solve their own problems, by taking new courage to be masters of their own destiny in

structive thought and dams back the flow of well-considered action.

In the solution of the problems of our times we have some new lamps to guide us. The light of science has revealed to us a new understanding of forces and a myriad of instruments of physical ease and comfort to add to the joy of life.

The growth of communications, of education, of the press, have made possible a new unity of thought and purpose. But the light that guides our soul remains the same as that whereby our fathers were led. It is the store of knowledge, the great inspiration of men's souls, the ideals which they carry forward, that have lifted the nation to ever greater heights.

The Union has become not merely a physical union of States, but rather is a spiritual union in common ideals of our people. Within it is room for every variety of opinion, every possibility of experiment in social progress. Out of such variety comes growth, but only if we preserve and maintain our spiritual solidarity.

The things of the spirit alone persist. It is in that field that the nation makes its lasting progress. To cherish religious faith and the tolerance of all faiths; to reflect into every aspect of public life the spirit of charity, the practice of forbearance, and the restraint of passion while reason seeks the way; to lay aside blind prejudice and follow knowledge together; to pursue diligently the common welfare and find within its boundaries our private benefit; to enlarge the borders of opportunity for all and find our own within them; to enhance the greatness of the nation and thereby find for ourselves an individual distinction; to face with courage and confident expectation the task set before us, these are the paths of true glory for this nation.

They will lead us to a life more abounding, richer in satisfaction, more enduring in its achievements, more precious in its bequests to our children—a life not merely of conflict but filled with the joy of creative action.

Facing Mr. Hoover as he stood on the platform was a group of bent and withered Union veterans. Seated behind Mr. Hoover were other old men garbed in blue, their jackets covered with medals and other insignia of service to the nation.

One gray uniform stood out among them. It was worn by William Haines, aged 93, of Washington, a former Confederate cavalryman. He was the first Southern veteran to sit on the platform at Gettysburg memorial exercises.

On his arrival at Gettysburg the President was met by Governor Fisher of Pennsylvania and Henry P. Fletcher, former Ambassador to Italy, a personal friend of Mr. Hoover. As the car carrying the Governor and the President left the highway Mr. Hoover caught a glimpse of hundreds of school children standing on a knoll above the graves of hundreds of unknown soldiers, who fell in the three days of battle.

Children Decorate Graves.

At a designated point the motor procession was halted. A band, hidden behind ancient trees and boxwood, struck up the hymn "Nearer My God to Thee." The children, most of them gaily dressed girls, advanced slowly down the hillside, strewing flowers on the graves.

Mr. Hoover and Governor Fisher walked among the children to the National Soldiers' Monument. The President placed a wreath at its base. He was surrounded by children as he made his way back to his car.

The platform from which the President spoke stands in a grove of great age and beauty. The trees form the background of a natural amphitheatre. Thousands of men and women were shouting an ovation when the President, surrounded by his military aides and his three secretaries, mounted the stand. Governor Fisher and his cabinet appeared immediately after the President.

Governor Fisher presided at the ceremonies. The Rev. Henry W. A. Hanson, president of Gettysburg College, gave the invocation. As a prelude to the President's address the audience sang "America." Then in tribute to the memory of Lincoln, Judge Donald H. McPherson read the Gettysburg Address.

Governor Fisher, in introducing the President, said that while visiting Mr. Hoover in his California home preceding the Presidential election, he had exacted from Mr. Hoover the promise that if elected he would speak here on Memorial Day.

Fisher Introduces Hoover.

"A few months ago, when I reminded him of his promise," said the Governor, "the President heartily agreed to come here.

"I think this is the proper time and proper place for the President to address the American people. All of us today have turned our thoughts to the things and ideals of patriotism and to the memory of our heroic dead.

"So it is proper that the head of the nation should be here to speak a few steps distant from where Lincoln spoke and give added immortality to this consecrated ground. On every side rise monuments indicating deeds of sacrifice by men who wore the Blue and the Gray.

"It is a solemn occasion, and we appreciate and welcome the presence of President Hoover."

A strong wind was blowing and the sky was overcast when the President started speaking, but the amplifiers carried his words to the outskirts of the crowds. Before he had proceeded many minutes the sun broke through the clouds and glistened on the gay colors of the President's flag, the Governor's flag and the flags of the State and the nation.

The President read his address in nine minutes, and while the audience cheered and sang "The Star Spangled Banner," Mr. Hoover turned to greet the ancient warriors who surrounded him. Many noted figures of the thinning ranks were on the platform.

Hoover Greets Veterans.

John B. Patrick of G. A. R. Post 58 of Harrisburg, formerly State commander, was one of the first to feel the President's handclasp. Many of the veterans were of such advanced age that they could scarcely stand without assistance. Not a few of them had fought at Gettysburg.

It was with deep emotion that Mr. Hoover spoke a word to each of them. Just before he left the grounds surrounding the stand, Mr. Hoover greeted Mrs. M. O. Smith, aged 87, of Hanover, Pa., who had sung in the choir on the occasion of Lincoln's address. Mr. Hoover took her arm, and with a smile of appreciation posed for the photographers.

The President and Governor Fisher departed immediately after the ceremonies ended with a benediction by the Rev. John A. Aberly.

SATURDAY. MAY 31. 1930.

Complete Text of the President's Radio Address

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12.—The text of President Hoover's radio address from the White House tonight in tribute to Abraham Lincoln follows:

By the magic of the radio I am able to address several hundred public gatherings called this evening throughout our country in celebration of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

It is appropriate that I should speak from this room in the White House where Lincoln strived and accomplished his great service to our country.

His invisible presence dominates these halls, ever recalling that infinite patience and that intrepidity will which fought and won the fight for these three fundamentals of greater strength to government by the people. From these windows he looked out upon that great granite shaft which was then in construction to mark the country's eternal tribute to the courage and uncompromising strength of the founder of this Union of States.

Here are the very chairs in which he meditated upon his problems. Above the mantelpiece hangs his portrait with his Cabinet, and upon this fireplace is written:

"In this room Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, whereby 4,000,000 slaves were given their freedom and slavery forever prohibited in these United States."

It was here that he toiled by day and by night that the Union created by the fathers might be preserved and that slavery might be ended.

Lincoln as a Builder

Most of the business of this room in Lincoln's time was concerned with the conduct of war against destructive forces. From here he could hear the sound of approaching cannon, and yet the thought that he should desert his place, this city and this house, never entered into his considerations. Lincoln was a builder in an epoch of destruction. It was his assignment by Providence to restore the national edifice, so badly shattered in its social and economic structure that it had well-nigh failed. His unyielding and indomitable resolve builded a new temple of the national soul in which our succeeding generations have added stone to cure and free and of a richer life.

And if Lincoln could today review the scene of his country he would find a union more solidly built and more resolute in its common purpose than ever in its history. He would find the States of the South recovered from the wounds of war, inspired by the splendid leadership of new generation to a brilliant renaissance of industry and commerce.

He would indeed find the consummation of that great moving phrase of his inaugural in which he extolled "the mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." It was indeed a great prophecy.

His Pride in His Party

If Lincoln were living he would find that the race of liberated slaves, starting a new life without a shred of the clothes in which they left, without education, without organizations, has today by its own efforts progressed to an amazingly high level of self-reliance and well being. Lincoln it would have been incredible that within a little more than a score of children of these slaves would be graduating from the public schools and colleges, that the race could have builded itself homes and accumulated a wealth in land and savings; that it should have carried on with success every calling and profession in our country.

While the dominate period of Lincoln's life was engrossed with these tremendous problems, yet he was a man of many interests. He was a believer in party government. He realized, as we also must realize, that fundamentally our whole self-government is conceived and born of majority rule, and to enable the majority to express itself we must have party organization. Lincoln led in founding the Republican party and he gloried in his party. His tradition has dominated it to this day. It was and is a party of responsibility; it was and is a party of the Constitution.

While many of the issues of that time are dead and gone, some of our present problems were equally vivid in his day. You will find Lincoln addressing the country in strong and urgent support of the protective tariff with vital declamation against the party opposing that policy. You will find him advocating Federal government aid in internal development of waterways rivers and harbors and transportation. You will find him pounding at the public mind against nullification and for adherence to constitutional processes of government. No stronger statement has ever been made than that of Lincoln in his adherence to the as the very foundation of our Republic.

Value of Local Government

In Lincoln's day the dominant problem in our form of government turned upon the issue of state rights. Though less pregnant with disaster the dominant problem in our form of government turns in large degree upon the issue of the relationship of Federal, state and local government responsibilities. We are faced with unceasing agitation that the Federal government shall assume new financial burdens, that it shall undertake increased burdens in regulations of abuses and in the prosecution of crime.

It is true that since Lincoln's time many forces have swept across state borders and have become more potent than the state or local community can deal with alone either financially or by jurisdiction. The concept of Federal, state, and local responsibilities is possible of no unchangeable definitions and it must shift with the mention of forces in the nation, but the time has come when we must be more conservative in consideration of decision of the part which each shall assume in these responsibilities.

The Federal government has assumed many new responsibilities since Lincoln's time, and will probably assume more in the future when the states and local communities alone cure abuse or bear the entire cost of national programs, but there is an essential principle that should be maintained in these relations. I am convinced that where Federal action is essential then in most cases it should limit its responsibilities to supplement the states and local communities, and that it should not assume the major role or the entire responsibility for performance of the states or local government. To do otherwise threatens the whole foundations of local government, which is the very basis of self-government.

The Character of the Citizenry

The moment responsibilities of any community, particularly in economic and social questions, are shifted from any part of the nation to Washington, then that community has subjected itself to a remote bureaucracy with its minimum of understanding and of sympathy. It has lost a large part of its voice and its control of its own destiny. Under Federal control the varied conditions of life in our country are forced into standard molds, with all their limitations upon life, either of the individual or the community. Where people divest themselves of local government responsibilities they at once lay the foundation for the destruction of their liberties.

And buried in this problem lies something even deeper. The whole of our governmental machinery was devised for the purpose that thought ordered liberty we give incentive and equality of opportunity to every individual to rise to that highest achievement of which he is capable. At once when government is centralized there arises a limitation upon the liberty of the individual and a restriction of individual opportunity. The true growth of the nation is the growth of character in its citizens. The spirit of government destroys initiative and thus destroys character. Character is made in the community as well as in the individual by assuming responsibilities, not by escape from them. Carried to its logical extreme, all this shouldering of individual and community responsibility upon the government can lead but to the superstate where every man becomes the servant of the state and all liberty is lost. Such was not the government Abraham Lincoln sought to build.

There is an entirely different avenue by which we may both resist this drift to centralized government and at the same time meet a multitude of problems. That is to strengthen in the nation a sense and an organization of self-help and cooperation to solve as many problems as possible outside of government. We are today passing through a critical test in such a problem arising from the economic depression.

Due to lack of caution in business and to the impact of forces from an outside world, one-half of which is involved in and part of our prosperity, the march of our prosperity has been retarded. We are projected into temporary unemployment, losses and hardships. In a nation rich in resources many people were faced with hunger and cold through no fault of their own. Our national resources are not only material supplies and material wealth, but a spiritual and moral wealth in kindliness, in compassion, in a sense of obligation of neighbor to neighbor and a realization of responsibility by industry, by business and the community for its social security and its social welfare.

The evidence of our ability to solve social problems outside of government action and the degree of moral strength with which we emerge from this period will be determined by whether the individuals and the local communities continue to meet their responsibilities.

Pride in Our Relief Efforts

Throughout the depression I have insisted upon organization of these forces through industry, through local government and through charity, that they should meet this crisis by their own initiative, by the assumption of their own responsibilities. The Federal government has sought to do its part by example in the extension of public works, by affording credit to drought sufferers for rehabilitation and by cooperation with the community, and thus to avoid the opinion of government aid and the chilling of our national spirit of mutual self-help.

We can take courage and pride in the effective work of thousands of voluntary organizations for provision of employment, for relief of distress, that have spread over the face of the nation. Industry and business have recognized a social obligation to their employees as never before. The state and local governments are being helpful. The people are themselves succeeding in this task. Never before in a great nation has there been so systematic a protection against distress, never before has there been so little social disorder; never before has there been such a outpouring of the spirit of self-sacrifice and of service.

Lincoln's Ideals

The ever-growing complexity of modern life, with its train of ever more pressing and difficult problems, is a challenge to our individual characters and to our devotion to our ideals. The resourcefulness of American ideals has challenged has never failed. Success is not gained by leaning upon government to solve all the problems before us. That way leads to enervation of will and destruction of character. Victory over this depression and over our other difficulties will be won by the resolution of our people to fight their own battles in their own communities, by stimulating their ingenuity to solve their own problems, by the exercise of initiative as masters of their own destiny in the struggle of life. This is not the easy way. It is the way of Lincoln. And it was Lincoln's way.

The ultimate test of the American social ideal is equality of opportunity and individual initiative. These are not born of bureaucracy. This ideal is the expression of the spirit of our people. This ideal obtained at the birth of the Republic. It was the ideal of Lincoln. It is the ideal upon which the Nation has risen to unprecedented greatness.

We are going through a period when character and courage are on trial, and where the very faith that is within us is under test. Our people are meeting this test. And they are doing more than the immediate task of the day. They are maintaining the ideals of our American system. By their devotion to these ideals they shall come out of these times strengthened in character, in courage, and in faith.

NEW 931

Hoover Extols Lincoln Ideal Of Liberalism

Shares Principle That People Be Masters, and Not Pawns of State

Herbert Hoover, speaking last night at the forty-ninth annual dinner of the National Republican Club at the Waldorf-Astoria, which celebrated the 126th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth, said that the Civil War President was a great liberal who believed passionately that Americans should be masters of the state and not its pawns, and that "whatever violates, infringes, or abrogates fundamental American liberty violates the principle of America as a nation."

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt presided at the dinner and stressed that Lincoln believed that the fundamental truth had been revealed to humanity in the concept of personal liberty as the basis of society.

Mr. Hoover began his speech, which was nationally broadcast, with this smiling comment on the boisterous ovation which greeted him:

"Somebody said the Republican party was dead."

And when the laughter and applause ceased he continued:

"I want to thank you for your fine courtesy, and for the words of Colonel Roosevelt. I did not prepare a formal address. Like most public officials, I would rather listen than speak.

"I had no expectation of delivering an address, and I have prepared no address for this occasion. I shall deliver none now, but, being in the city, I should feel myself remiss did I fail to join in this meeting of Republicans to pay homage to Abraham Lincoln.

"Lincoln was in himself the highest expression of the whole epic of American life. His individuality, his self-reliance, his courage, his patience, his tolerance, and his intellectual honesty have been the living inspiration of three generations of our people. They are and should continue to be an inspiration to America in this period, as trying as, if not more trying than, any that has confronted our country since Lincoln's time.

"It is indeed a period of grave difficulty for all our people. The aftermath of war, the adaptations necessary from the tidal surge of scientific discovery, the abuses which had grown in our economic system, the world-wide depression, the development of new social systems in foreign countries—all these have confused our thinking. From this travail fear has come to dominate the world. From all these dislocations there are everywhere a yearning and a striving to find individual and national security.

High Purposes Extolled

"Herein lies the high purpose of such meetings as this, which recall the character and the principles applied and expounded by Abraham Lincoln.

"Lincoln was a great liberal. He believed passionately that Americans should be the masters of the state and not the pawns of the state. He believed a fundamental spiritual truth had been revealed to humanity in the conception of personal liberty as the basis of society. He believed it was only through his release of the human spirit that human happiness and human progress were possible. Lincoln believed that while changes were inevitable to meet the shifting scenes and problems of the day, that those changes should be in method and not in principle.

"He held the abiding spiritual truth that all individual and national security must rest upon the orderly processes of constitutional self-government. In his own words: 'A majority, held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, is the only true soverign of a free people.' Thus his faith was builded upon the solid foundations of freedom of the human spirit, which had been America's translation into government.

"This provides us with our text for today. Whatever violetes, infringes or abrogates fundamental American liberty violates the life principle of America as a nation. So, I feel, Lincoln would judge and express in illuminating phrases were he with us tonight."

Cheered by 750 at Dinner

When Mr. Hoover rose to speak, the 750 diners who thronged the room, rose and cheered, stamped, yelled and applauded for more than two minutes. Many of his audience whistled loudly.

Throughout his brief speech, the former President was frequently applauded, and when his hearers realized he had finished, they again rose and cheered, stamped, yelled and whistled their applause, subsiding only when he threw up his hands in protest and took his seat. The second ovation lasted for about a minute and a half. Mr. Hoover beamed with pleasure at the demonstration.

While Mr. Hoover refrained from any reference to the national admintration, Colonel Roosevelt, in introducing him, charged the Administration with having shaken the foundations of liberty and democratic government under the mask of holding out false promises to the needy.

He specifically accused the Administration of having broken down important provisions of the Bills of Rights and asserted that when liberties as guaranteed under the Bill of Rights were tampered with, it was time to stand up and fight, and that the time was now.

A similar note was taken by Governor Harold G. Hoffman of New Jersey, who followed Mr. Hoover, and by Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin.

Col. Roosevelt Arraigns Administration Policies

Mr. Hoover and those who sat with him on the dais entered the dining room at 7:45 p. m., and blessing was invoked by Bishop William T. Manning. Then Colonel Roosevelt introduced Mr. Hoover with the following:

"Tonight we are celebrating the birthday of one of the greatest Americans. We are gathered, if there is sincerity in our hearts, to affirm our faith in the principles for which he gave his life.

"It is right and fitting that we should do so at this time, for the ideals and institutions that he died to save are in grave peril.

"The present Administration at Washington has flaunted the Constitution, emasculated Congress, assumed judicial powers, used the emergency legislation to break down important provisions of the Bill of Rights and shaken the foundations of our liberty and democratic government.

"The members of that Administration have masked their attempts on our democratic government with false promises to the needy, with a lavish squandering of our country's resources. They are traitors to the very people whose favor they seek to gain.

"The Constitution is the bulwark that protects the poor. It is the wall of the weak. Destroy it and they become the prey of schemers and exploiters.

"We have heard much of so-called new policies. Our mind should always be open to take what is good from new ideas, for of such is begotten progress. There are, however, no substitutes for the verities, and it is criminal folly to tear down that which has guarded so many generations of Americans..

"There is a time to listen to arguments for new policies; there is a time to give them a chance to justify themselves, but when any person or persons begin to tamper with our liberties as guaranteed as under the Bill of Rights, then it is time to stand up and fight—and that time is now."

Governor Hoffman confined himself chiefly to a discussion of Lincoln, drawing, however, lessons from his career which he held applicable to the present. He recalled that Lincoln had written: "As I could not be a slave, so I would not be a master." "This expresses my ideal of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy."

Then Governor Hoffman added:

"This reflects the fact that Lincoln had no ambition to set himself up as a dictator. He exercised leadership when it was necessary for the salvation of the nation and for his fellow humans. But it was not personal power that he sought.

"Today this country is faced with another great issue, which, perhaps—just as the issue of slavery was treated time and again with palliatives and compromises only to break out with renewed violence and enhanced bitterness — has persisted with increasing danger to society for the first third of this twentieth century. . . .

"You, no doubt, will agree with me, that questions of economic adjustment and government policy are as perplexing in our day and as difficult of solution as was the question of slavery before the great Lincoln focused his clear mind upon the problem. We have lived to see a day of paradox when men have suffered for the lack of the basic elements of life at a time when our granaries and our warehouses were bursting with too much and our productive machine was jammed with a seemingly inconsumable surplus.

Calls for Clarification

"It seems to me that we need to perform a work of clarification upon the necessities which face us, just as Lincoln clarified and solved for all time the question of slavery during the last ten years of his life.

"It is no doubt true that we must make some changes in the relationship of government to business in our day, for never before has government come so close to the daily bread-and-butter existence of the people."

Governor Hoffman emphasized that the "contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and wrong" as Lincoln described the sophistries of the politicians of his day in his Cooper Union speech, were being repeated today and that most people were much too willing to do that which was expedient at the moment. Then he continued:

"Lincoln never sought new routes merely for the purpose of experimentation. To him old routes that had stood the stress and strain of time could be improved by additions, but additions that did not disregard the fundamentals of life in America.

"Lincoln being tolerant, could not be dogmatic. His policy was never rule or ruin. He was a great diagnostician of public questions. Finding out what was wrong, like a great surgeon he applied the knife to cut out the excrescence, but in his wisdom he left untouched the vital tissues of life."

Gov. Hoffman Assails Destructive Tendencies

Governor Hoffmann condemned the Administration policy which "sets out to destroy investments, ignores the principles of economy and service evolved slowly and at enormous cost of money and effort by established organizations," and the policy which places "heavy and yet heavier taxes on private business and then offers a tax-free service by a publicly owned organization."

These policies, he charged, were grounded in the belief that the end justifies the means, and that there are remedies at hand for corporation evils, and condemned the policy of making business men scapegoats.

Governor Hoffman asserted that one of the chief governmental needs was improved administration and that whenever there was an enormous expansion of governmental functions, as in the last two years, "it is perhaps inevitable that there will be a horde of misfits given responsibility to which they are unequal."

"The Republican party," he said, "was organized to resist the extension of human slavery. It must be reorganized and revitalized to protect the free institutions of a free people.

"The first great leader of the party, the anniversary of whose birth we celebrate tonight, has grown in stature and in influence upon American institutions until he overshadows othr great men of our history. The Republicans of this day and generation are charged with as sacred a responsibility as were those in the days of Lincoln. It was his to preserve the Union; it is ours to perpetuate its free institutions.

"The party of Lincoln has not finished its work either in the state or in the nation. The American people have need of the services of the Republican party NOW as they have needed them only seldom before.

"Lincoln's party must and will continue to be the practical medium through which the men and women who believe in the traditions of America, and who believe in the institutions of a free people in this great country which Lincoln preserved, will wield their influences in the perpetuation of the nation. The party must be purged of the elements and influences that have forgotten their obligations to the people. It must be rededicated to the principles of liberty under law and social justice. It must continue to hold itself true to the sound and tried principles of American industry, enterprise and development. It must not seek an impossible Utopia by following the will-of-the-wisp of false doctrines or through efforts to reverse the processes of natural law.

"The Republican party must be American, it must be sanely progressive, it must recognize and respect the superior rights of men, yet it must preserve the subordinate rights of the individual in his property, his contractual relationship and in his private enterprise. The Republican party is alive! It is waiting, Mr. Chairman, for new and aggressive and inspiring leadership to be touched into militant life. The party that registered thirteen and a half million discerning votes in 1934 is a vivid organization, standing ready more fully to serve the nation when called once more to be the majority leader."

HOOVER, HERBERT DRAWER 27 TRIBUTES